The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXIV NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 8, 1922 No. 2957

Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 275

EDITORIALS:
- Can Internationalists Support Nationalist Causes?..... 278
- Shall They Die for Wall Street?..... 279
- The Automobile's Death Toll..... 279
- "The Art of Keeping Cool"..... 280

A FREIGHT CONDUCTOR'S STORY. By One of Thirty Years' Experience 281

THE ITALIAN BUBBLE BURSTS. By Arthur Livingston..... 283

FRIDTJOF NANSEN SPEAKS. By Frithjof Toksvig..... 285

IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter..... 286

CORRESPONDENCE 286

THE ROVING CRITIC. By Carl Van Doren..... 288

BOOKS:
- Hot Lovers and Hot Haters. By Charles A. Beard..... 289
- Platonism to the Rescue. By Clara M. Smertenko..... 290
- Tongues of Men. By Jacob Zeitlin..... 290
- Woman Freed. By J. W. Krutch..... 291

MUSIC:
- Marking the Miles. By Henrietta Straus..... 292

DRAMA:
- Spearmint. By Ludwig Lewisohn..... 294

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECTION:
- The Murder of a Race..... 295
- Causes of the Pogroms..... 298
- The Struggle Against the Pogroms and the Bandit Movement..... 298
- Problems of Reconstruction..... 299

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, EDITOR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

LEWIS S. GANNETT FREDA KIRCHWEY
ARTHUR WARNER LUDWIG LEWISOHN
NORMAN THOMAS

ERNEST H. GRUENING, MANAGING EDITOR
CARL VAN DOREN, LITERARY EDITOR

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOHN A. HOBSON ANATOLE FRANCE H. L. MENCKEN
FRIEDRICH WILHELM FOERSTER ROBERT HERRICK

SUBSCRIPTION RATES—Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, $5.50, and to foreign countries of the Postal Union, $6.00.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York City. Cable Address: NATION, New York. Chicago Office: 1170 People's Gas Building. British Agent for Subscriptions and Advertising: Ernest Thurtle, 36 Temple, Fortune Hill, N. W. 4, England.

So far as amendment can sterilize an obnoxious treaty the Four-Power agreement is bettered by the reservation of the Foreign Affairs Committee that "the United States understands that, under the statement in the preamble or under the terms of this treaty, there is to be no commitment to armed force, no alliance, no obligation to join in any defense." But it is not altogether "sanitated"; it may still be used to involve us in war, for an alliance it remains, and as an elaboration of the Anglo-Japanese treaty it is regarded in Europe. A violation of the solemn warning of George Washington it indubitably is, and a daring departure from our historic traditions. So we sympathize with Senators Borah, Johnson, and Shields, who voted against it in the Committee. The other four agreements and treaties bearing upon the naval program went through easily; the ratification of the limitation of battleship-building is, therefore, assured. The Chinese treaties have also slipped through and with the others are now before the Senate. Thus it appears at this writing as if the results of the Washington Conference would be ratified before long, for weal or for woe. When they are approved, it will be more than ever the duty of the United States to continue to disarm. But what do we hear? Why, that the President is vigorously opposing any radical cuts in the personnel of the navy. Thus do we once more keep our right hand from knowing what our left is about.

BUSINESS *does* seem to be improving. We have it not only from the White House and the bond houses, but from scientific prognosticators such as the Harvard Committee on Economic Research; and the bank statements seem to bear witness as well. There are more ships at work, too. As far as the general public is concerned, however, it is ignorant of any change. For it real prosperity is still lurking far around the corner. Unemployment still seems on the increase and suffering from it grows more acute, though it is not sufficient as yet to lead to demonstrations. Your American is patient and long-suffering when out of work; his neighbors are generous, and even his political club organizes to help him tide himself over. As for Wall Street, it is not weeping over the numerous failures of brokers. Most of them have been of poor standing and the big financiers always profess to be relieved when some of the lesser lights collapse. It clears the atmosphere, they say. None the less we are far from being on a sound basis. One has only to read the statements of some of our largest concerns to see that one more year of dipping into surplus and reserves as heavily as they had to in 1921 will bring them to the end of their resources. If the favorable signs being noted above are evidences of a turn of the tide it is but just beyond the ebb. Then we should never lose sight of the fact that lasting improvement will come not wholly from within our boundaries but as the result of a genuine change in economic conditions abroad.

RHODE ISLAND State troops fired into a crowd of strikers, strikers' wives, and strikers' children in Pawtucket the other day, killing one and wounding a dozen more, two or three of whom may die. The Portuguese and Italian consuls are interesting themselves in the situation, hoping to protect others of their citizens from such murder. There is no other country in the world where soldiers fire so lightly into crowds of workers, yet what happened in Rhode Island is a common story in the United States. Tanks, cavalry, and machine-guns guard the streets of Newport, Kentucky, where the rolling-mill workers are on strike; mounted men ride into workers' homes and machine-gunners fire through them as if they were on a firing-line in Belgium in war time. In West Virginia real gun and bullet war is chronic. The Ludlow massacre, when State troops fired into a tent colony of strikers' wives and children at the Rockefeller mines in Colorado, is still recent history. Though our history is singularly free from the armed revolutionary movements that are almost chronic in Europe, no European country has such a persistently bloody industrial struggle to record as we; nor can the force of the state be used against the workers there as casually as here. Yet our general public—the same general public that calmly accepts burning Negroes alive in the South as a matter of course—continues to boast of our "civilization" and of our "highly developed industry." There is something radically wrong when workmen striking against a reduction of wages and increase of the working week can be shot down in cold blood with perfect impunity and immunity.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TWO years and four months after the murder of Fannie Sellins three deputy sheriffs have been indicted for the crime by a Pittsburgh grand jury. Mrs. Sellins, a labor organizer, was shot by deputy sheriffs in broad daylight during a mine strike at Brackenridge, Pa. There is not a scintilla of evidence to support the charges of the mine guards that there was anything like a riot or any attack upon them, much less that this elderly woman was guilty of even an approach to violence. Yet the Pittsburgh papers carried all these sensational charges, and others. The same papers have been silent on more recent developments. They did not help the workers who raised a ten-thousand-dollar fund and forced the prosecution. Jack Sellins, the murdered woman's son, charges that "we can't expect justice from the office of the district attorney" and has asked the president judge of Allegheny County to appoint the attorneys engaged by the workers as special prosecutors. No one who is aware of the degradation of justice in western Pennsylvania in the interests of the employing class will be inclined to doubt Mr. Sellins's charge. But even in the kingdom of steel an aroused public may extort belated justice.

THAT political pow-wow of assorted radicals and near-radicals in Chicago, and the "mild alliance"—as one newspaper called it—of the railroad men and the miners, showed a sense of the importance of getting together and shed light on the difficulties in the way. The political conference showed good judgment in making haste slowly; the real test of the forces behind it will come in the second and more representative conference to be held next December. Its significance is chiefly in the fact that representatives of rather conservative railroad unions and of farmers talked things over from a fairly definite working-class angle. What will come of the miners' alliance with the railroad men is hard to foretell. The conferees themselves deny that railroad men plan a sympathetic strike if the coal miners go out in April. The failure of united action by the British triple alliance last spring makes it improbable that this weaker American alliance will take drastic action. The fight in the miners' convention on the Howat issue does not inspire the friends of the miners with undue confidence in their organization and its leadership. Perhaps the crisis before them will bring unity, wisdom, and courage.

THE compromise in Ireland leaves the Collins Government in a weak strategic position. The election that might have given it a definite legal sanction has been postponed for three months and it is forced in the interval to rest more or less on British force. Unfortunately it will have to frame a constitution with an eye less to Ireland's administrative and economic needs than to its political effect upon the republican voters. But at least Ireland has been halted in its approach toward civil war. The republicans have abandoned the dangerous talk of "two armies"; they have agreed not to overthrow the Provisional Government during the three months' period. This truce, forced upon the Sinn Fein convention by the passionate desire of the rank and file for unity, leaves De Valera the key man in all hopes for Irish peace and unity. It is possible that his course was prompted not only by his dislike of the treaty but by hope that he might guide the storm of irreconcilable republican opposition. The young enthusiasts of the Irish army feel that they belong to an undefeated army: the necessity of some sort of agreement with England and of conciliation with Ulster is not in their minds; their loyalty to the Provisional Government is slight—in three districts the army was close to open revolt against Griffith and Collins, and the Irish papers reported some cases of intimidation of Free State advocates by the soldiers. In place of these approaches to fratricidal war the agreement provides for a peaceful political discussion of problems before the Irish nation. The months that lie ahead will test the capacity of the Irish people and their leaders, but to no one will they bring more responsibility for averting civil war than to Eamon de Valera. It is fortunate that in times past he has shown a clear appreciation that Ulster cannot be coerced, and that some agreement must be reached with Great Britain.

THESE prime ministers—how they do run true to form. Poincaré said he would have no more conferences. Now, less than six weeks in office, he and Lloyd George are at it again; and the same old movie men and staff photographers and special correspondents photograph their handshakes and report their smiles precisely as they have been doing for the previous prime ministers every so often for these past three years. "The important thing is that we are in agreement," Lloyd George assures the respectful newspapermen. "The rest is detail." It reminds us somehow of Keynes's account of this same Lloyd George's antics at previous conferences:

> At each of them he pushed the French as far as he could but not as far as he wanted; and then came home to proclaim the settlement provisionally reached (and destined to be changed a month later) as an expression of complete accord between himself and his French colleague, as a nearly perfect embodiment of human wisdom, and as a settlement which Germany would be well advised to accept as final, adding about every third time that if she did not he would support the invasion of her territory.

It would be refreshing if sometime the old bluffer would emerge from conference and frankly say:

> Poincaré and I scrapped steadily for three hours. He's perfectly impossible—stubborn as a mule. We didn't agree about a thing, but finally we doctored up a statement, which did not say anything definitely but seemed to imply that we had agreed about something, and decided to let it go at that. We're going to hold the Genoa Conference, you see—that's my victory; but it will not discuss reparations or other essentials—that's Poincaré's. England gives France an alliance in case of "unprovoked aggression" but England decides what "unprovoked" means. We arranged it so that we both could claim a triumph.

JAPAN and Mrs. Sanger seem to disagree about Japan's eagerness to receive the doctrine of birth control. Mrs. Sanger has stated that twenty-five representatives of the Japanese Government had visited her to learn her views on the subject and that Dr. Kato, head of the Department of Medical Affairs of Japan, had told her that his Government was convinced that it must establish birth control as a national policy or prepare for a war of aggression within a generation. Japan, on the other hand, has displayed its eagerness for enlightenment by first refusing Mrs. Sanger a visa at San Francisco, where she was preparing to embark, and then modifying its position by allowing her to visit its shores but not to talk. The Government's action has done more to create interest in birth control in Japan than Mrs. Sanger could have accomplished in six months of unimpeded propaganda. A press dispatch from Tokio states that "the press, priests, and public" are all debating the subject of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

her visit and the Government's position. In spite of such evidences of public interest, we are ready to believe that the Japanese Government knows what it wants better than Mrs. Sanger does, and that the officials who may have expressed sympathy with her views were no more than the enlightened fringe. No country needs to limit its population as rigidly as does Japan; and no country is less likely to do it. For birth control is a menace to militarism and to autocracy, political and industrial, and official Japan will not readily accord so important a power of self-determination to the parents of its future soldiers and wage-workers.

IN removing from office District Attorney Joseph C. Pelletier of Boston the Massachusetts Supreme Court brought to a just conclusion one of the most disgraceful chapters in American politico-legal history. The court unanimously found Pelletier guilty—in ten instances—of blackmail, extortion, and conspiracy. Yet for thirteen years he has held office, receiving regularly Republican and Democratic nominations. The success of the prosecution alone is surprising. Pelletier's prostitution of his office has for years been a public stench in Boston. But he shrewdly profited by local prejudices and also by the timorousness of the Boston press, which might have terminated his piratical career years ago. He was a professional Catholic in a city where 90 per cent of the voters are Catholic. Of French descent, he became also a professional Irishman. His office of Supreme Advocate of the Knights of Columbus he used to strengthen his political fences. Mr. Pelletier now plans to take his case "to the people" next November and with a battle-cry of religious bigotry his chances of "vindication" are by no means negligible. Persons or organizations who abet this effort will merely beslime and discredit themselves. Meantime the rest of the community may hope in some degree again to "have faith in Massachusetts."

. . . The bandits went through Gluckman's clothes, taking all he had. Then one pulled a gold ring off his finger. "Don't take that," Gluckman protested. "I wore that in France when I was a soldier." "We're buddies, too," one of the robbers answered, as he tossed the ring on the floor beside the prostrate clerk.—New York *Times*.

"AH-HA," the blood-stained bandit cried,
And shook him by the throat;
"I've got you now; cough up, my boy,
That thousand-dollar note."

The victim gasped; faint came his voice
"I fought the boches in France."
—"Come to my arms, my buddy-boy,"
The bandit cried entranced.

"I rob the mufti lads—them guys
I blackjack all day long;
But buddy, here's my hand for you,
—Our country, right or wrong!"

IT is gratifying to learn that the American Legion is at last interesting itself in a question of freedom. Not, to be sure, anything so old-fashioned as freedom of speech, press, or assembly. The Legion, as befitting, is agitating for a New Freedom, one having no debilitating relation to the human race. The New Freedom is exclusively for eagles. A Legion chaplain on the Pacific Coast feels that as the eagle is our national bird it ought not to be a captive. He proposes, therefore, that all eagles in menageries and such be released. Beautiful—except perhaps for the eagles. For, as the Legion has so often maintained, freedom is a dangerous and doubtful measure—even among birds. One hates to picture several hundred sleepy and well-fed eagles driven from warm menagerie-roosts into a wintry and competitive world to earn a living by the sweat of their bills. No more pork chops and Hamburger steak—only an occasional farmyard pullet. Oh Legion, how cruel is this New Freedom! How much kinder to leave the eagle on his steam-heated, well-protected roost, especially if—true to national form—he is bald-headed!

HOW sharper than a serpent's tooth to have a thankless child—especially when you have spent your hard-earned dollars to give him a good education and start him on the right road in life. Here, as an example, is Ataman Semionov, as bright and promising a bandit as ever cut a throat, turning on his former guardians and friends the Japanese, and blaming them for the ruin of Siberia. In Peking, according to Mr. William R. Giles of the New York *Globe*, the former leader has been making remarks which sound strangely familiar; only if we remember correctly the last time we heard them they came from the Ataman's old enemies in the Chita Government. "Peace among Russian factions in Siberia is impossible until Japanese troops are withdrawn." Japan "bought the Merkulov Government in Vladivostok for the purpose of obtaining a stronger foothold in Russian territory." That's the sort of thing this thankless child is saying. He is even more interesting on the subject of his former sources of income. He says the British gave him his first £10,000 and that after he had obtained guns from the Peking Legation he received instructions from the British to begin his movement against the Bolsheviki. Later the British supplied more funds. "The French and the Japanese also contributed." Semionov has announced his intention of coming to the United States. We hope he will. We have several questions to ask him that Mr. Giles evidently forgot.

THE Jewish drive to raise in the United States the sum of fourteen millions for the relief of the war sufferers of the race in Europe may fairly be called the most commanding summons to the exercise of a necessary humanity that has ever been addressed to a group of people. There is no question here of charity; there is no question of choice. The armies of Kolchak, Denikin, and Petlura slaughtered without mercy and left in their wake three hundred thousand starving, shelterless, and often mutilated orphans; an equal number of adults driven from their places of habitation are wandering helplessly toward the already overcrowded and for that very reason often hostile West. This story of Jewish suffering is told, painfully and convincingly, in the documents printed in the International Relations Section this week. The daily toll of death is appalling and there is no help visible except from America. The Jewries of Europe with their depreciated currencies can do little or nothing. The dollar is king and salvation; the dollar alone can mitigate one of the major and most undeserved disasters in the history of mankind. It is to be earnestly hoped that many not of Jewish blood will follow the admirable example of Archbishop Hayes and contribute to the fund. But our Jewish fellow-citizens must not hesitate or hold back. The call to them is urgent, vital, of historic import and proportion.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Can Internationalists Support National Causes?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have read with interest your views on internationalism, a cause with which I am in sympathy, and so I offer you a suggestion. . . . My suggestion is that you write an article explaining how you believe the cause of internationalism will be aided by the developed nationalism of the Irish and the developing nationalism of the Hindus and Egyptians.

Such an article I am certain will interest your readers, many of whom like myself may be unable to understand why the nationalism of America, Japan, England, France, and Italy should be considered a "curse" and the development of the same kind of nationalism in Ireland, India, and Egypt a blessing to the world.

Oak Park, Illinois BENJAMIN P. HORTON

OUR correspondent presents a real though not insoluble problem. Our advocacy of the nationalism of the oppressed nations arises (1) from a conviction that the attainment of freedom by nations that are now exploited in resources and outraged in spirit by imperialism is the necessary condition of internationalism; and (2) from a hope that nationalism itself is capable of a far more admirable form than the exaggerated chauvinism with which so much of mankind is now afflicted.

No fact in modern politics is clearer than the strength of nationalism, unless it is the inadequacy of nationalism as a dominant principle for the organization of society. Political philosophers may grope for an adequate explanation of the strength of the common tradition which holds men of antagonistic economic interests, sometimes belonging to different races and speaking different languages, in the grip of a national consciousness; historians may speculate on the comparatively recent roots of the national ideal in the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the French Revolution, but they cannot gainsay the religious fervor of the ideal nor as a rule can they free their own selves from its bias. The most international and class-conscious of governments owes its triumphs over its foes less to the internationalism of the workers of the world than to the nationalism of the Russian people. The believer in some form of a world state might, if he were ignorant of history, regard imperialism with tolerance as the destroyer of tribalism or nationalism, and hold that the rebellion against it would be a revolt of exploited classes whose victory would usher in a free state. But in reality mighty empires which had to some degree broadened the areas of men's political loyalty have fallen partly because of the intense desire of different tribes—or in more recent times nations—to assert their own individuality. Imposed unity has tended to frustrate its own end and to make a world state hateful.

The failure of an imposed unity does not mean that we can fall back on nationalism as a sufficient principle. That is forbidden, if for no other reason, because no nation, not even the strongest, is economically independent. Moreover there are parts of the world where nationalities are so jumbled as to make the principle of self-determination, even if it were more impartially applied than at Versailles, provocative of war rather than of peace. So long as nationalism is a law unto itself what begins as a desire for self-expression through freedom may end as a desire for self-expression through domination over others. The Italy of Mazzini and the Risorgimento became the Italy of D'Annunzio and the secret treaties; the Poland of the martyrs became the Poland of the jingoes. The nationalist passion which wins freedom for a people is easily perverted once that freedom is won; it requires limitation by some conception of an international concert of nations which denies to none its self-expression, else it falls victim to the disease of imperialism. And imperialism which implies the right of a strong people to impose its national will and culture on another, is the curse which we have so often denounced. It is the enemy of the economic unity of the workers and of the spiritual unity of our common humanity. There is no logical inconsistency in condemning an imperialistic nationalism at the same time that we support the nationalism which embodies, however imperfectly, a real struggle against exploitation. We might hold the nationalism of Gandhi and his followers or of the Irish in far less esteem than we do and yet recognize it as an inevitable revolt against a foreign exploitation which is more galling than domestic inefficiency or even domestic tyranny.

Moreover the development of nationalism among subject peoples may have a higher function than the substitution of a rough balance of national power for imperialist rivalries. Mankind may come through hard experience to see that peace and prosperity are incompatible with tariff wars and the struggle of each nation to monopolize for itself the maximum amount of the world's resources, it may learn sincerely to believe that "above all nations is humanity," and yet find the national principle useful to preserve that variety of culture which enriches life. Little nations tend to breed responsible citizens and stimulate the arts to a degree seldom found in huge empires where the sheer weight of the mass crushes individuality. It will prove both easier and more desirable to obtain internationalism than a world state which knows nothing of national loyalties.

Mazzini in his eloquent confession of faith in "The Holy Alliance of the Peoples" calls nationality "the conscience of the peoples which assigns to them their share of work in the association, their office in humanity, and hence constitutes their mission on earth, their individuality; for without nationality neither liberty nor equality is possible." In this faith the great Italian became the friend of all national movements, Polish and German as well as Italian. If their later development has seemed to mock his hopes the reason is not only that world-wide economic interdependence requires a practical organization of his spiritual association for which he did not provide, but also because nationalism was prostituted to the unholy religion of the state whose prophet was that other and earlier Italian, Machiavelli. It is not nationalism *per se*, but the modern state which, in the words of Lord Acton, "suffers neither limit nor equality, and is bound by no duty to nations or to men, that thrives on destruction, and sanctifies whatever things contribute to increase of power." It is under cover of this state-worship that the modern imperialists, economic and political, have spread their power within great nations and over weak peoples. To eliminate it is one of the great tasks of our time. And if in the past the nationalism of powerful peoples has served the religion of the state which makes for "the perpetuation of universal enmity" there is still the possibility that nationalism will justify Mazzini's hope and prove itself to be the conscience of the peoples which will assign to them their office in humanity.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Shall They Die for Wall Street?

. . . Let him never dream that his bullet's scream went wide of its island mark
Home to the heart of his darling land where she stumbled and sinned in the dark.

—William Vaughan Moody

THE Guaranty Trust Company of New York, which is now closely associated with the House of Morgan, recently negotiated a loan to Peru. It was a forty-year 8 per cent loan, some $15,000,000 to be made available at once and the total ultimately to reach $50,000,000. As a guaranty the Peruvian Government put its customs revenues and administration in the hands of an American financial adviser for forty years. Salvador has just readjusted her foreign debt; American bankers make a $5,000,000 loan which is to be a first charge secured on the gross customs revenue. The Nicaraguan customs are already administered by Americans, with the occasional aid of American marines. Ecuador, Bolivia, Guatemala are also on the market for loans.

This is all very well—and perfectly legitimate business on the surface; if South and Central American governments want to give foreign banks a sort of receivership over their finances that is their affair; they have the right to do it and the banks have the right to drive the best bargains they can drive. These loans concern the general public only because more may be implied than is expressed in them. Does the fact that a Wall Street banker lends some millions of dollars to a Latin-American country, and that the Latin-American country instals an American as "Financial Adviser" or as "Receiver of Customs," imply that if internal revolution or political shifts in that republic imperil the loan American soldiers shall be sent there to "maintain order," or maintain in power the political party that negotiated the loan, or otherwise insure payment and collection of the loan?

There need be no such implication and the Latin-American countries wish no such result. But the history of the last decades in the Caribbean indicates its probability. We took over control of Dominican finances in 1907, and less than a decade later our troops conquered Santo Domingo. Our "Legation guard" in Nicaragua has more than once been used to decide internal battles in Nicaragua. In Haiti our troops maintain a puppet government of their own, and the $14,000,000 loan which our State Department and bankers are attempting to impose upon Haiti is accompanied by provisions insuring continuance of American military control for the forty-year term of the loan. Especially since the European war gave the United States a free hand in this hemisphere, and since the stringency of the European financial market gave our bankers a near-monopoly of the money-lending business in Latin-America, the tendency has been to put the State Department and the Marine Corps at the service of the bankers.

It is this tendency which makes the Peruvian loan a matter of grave concern and gives our course in Haiti and Santo Domingo enormous significance. It cost only a few score American lives and a few million dollars to subjugate these little countries for the bankers; but the financial imperialism which is spreading like a great shadow over the whole Caribbean and beyond—Peru is well down the West Coast and is the third largest country in South America—seems destined to be the fore-runner of military intervention throughout Latin-America. The American people must now decide whether they desire American boys to fight and die in a dozen countries for the defense of Wall Street loans—or it will be decided for them.

We are not yet irrevocably committed to the policy that the marines follow the bankers. We fell into it half-unconsciously when larger issues were monopolizing our attention; it was easy to follow the beaten trail of imperial nations. Unconsciously England built up her empire; so unconsciously we are laying the foundations of ours. Our traditional policy is other and better. Elihu Root, then Secretary of State, instructed the American delegates to the Pan-American Conference in 1906 thus:

> It has long been the established policy of the United States not to use its armed forces for the collection of ordinary contract debts due to its citizens by other governments. We have not considered the use of force for such a purpose consistent with that respect for the independent sovereignty of other members of the family of nations which is the most important principle of international law and the chief protection of weak nations against the oppression of the strong. It seems to us that the practice is injurious in its general effect upon the relations of nations and upon the welfare of weak and disordered states, whose development ought to be encouraged in the interests of civilization, that it offers temptation to bullying and oppression and to unnecessary and unjustifiable warfare.

Suppose that the Senate should formally resolve that Mr. Root's policy was still the proper policy for the United States; suppose that, as a guaranty of good faith we should, after all this quibbling and hesitation, really get out of Haiti and of Santo Domingo and return the island to its people—then Americans could once more hold their heads high and speak freely of the imperialism of others, and the series of petty battles in which American boys die for the banks would be ended.

The Automobile's Death Toll

HOW shall we control the modern Juggernaut? The question grows more serious year by year and is again brought to the front by the estimate of the National Safety Council that the death toll in automobile accidents for the year 1921 may approximate 15,000. In 1915 there were 5,900 such deaths, in 1919, 9,825, and in 1920, 10,600. In New York State alone 1,079 were killed in 1921, according to police reports, which are never complete. True it is, of course, that the use of the automobile has rapidly increased during the period under consideration. Thus, in 1915 there were only 2,445,664 cars in service in the United States as contrasted with 9,211,295 in 1920, and more than 10,000,000 in 1921. But if the death rate has not increased in proportion with the number of automobiles, it still remains a horrifying figure. The automobile, the Safety Council says, stands "preeminent among the preventable causes of death." Alarmed at the losses in the State of New York last year —1,079 killed and more than 40,000 injured as compared with 5,664 killed and 27,026 wounded at the battle of Gettysburg—the joint committee appointed by the New York Legislature to investigate the problem is recommending the enactment of a law providing for a motor vehicle commissioner with ample powers and a force of inspectors and examiners to enforce the law. It finds that outside of the city of New York there is "practically no limitation as to who may drive a motor vehicle" and the committee found "the child, the aged person, the lame, the blind, and the deaf dealing out death to those who use the roads." In

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Elmira one woman was killed by a car driven by a man *ninety-two* years of age!

Naturally the outcry is for severe punishments and the prompt enforcement of the laws—and justly. But unfortunately, the case is not quite simple. There will always be some fatalities, all the more so because we are dealing with machines which constantly develop unsuspected and often undiscoverable defects, such as the sudden collapse of the steering-gear or the breaking of an axle which outwardly shows no flaw. Again the undermining of a road, not visible on the surface, has sent many a motorist to his grave. Unavoidable accidents are inevitable. Thus, in the case of the six deaths which occurred in Mt. Vernon, New York, in 1921, the coroner absolved all the drivers from blame, no negligence having been shown on their part. In Mechanicsville the deaths of three persons were attributed solely to their own carelessness. In Rochester six persons died, it is reported, because they heedlessly walked into or in front of cars; three more were killed because they crossed the street in the middle of blocks, while two children perished because they were playing in the roadway, and one man was killed when stealing a ride. Every chauffeur knows how alarming it is to drive even at a snail's pace through a crowded street, for an automobile going five miles an hour is capable of crushing a child who suddenly runs in front of it. The bicyclist and the farmer who use no lights at night constantly pay the price of their folly. On one occasion seven people were killed in a collision because their car, having only one headlight lighted, was taken for a motor cycle.

Nothing in these facts, however, should prevent the rigid punishment of drivers guilty of intoxication, carelessness, or deliberate recklessness, and their permanent loss of a license to drive. Unfortunately, there is the same laxity in the enforcement of law here as in other fields of American activity. Mr. John Kirkland Clark, the reform candidate for District Attorney, brought out in his campaign last fall that of 2,854 drivers who killed persons in the streets of New York City during 1916-21 only 12 were indicted or jailed. Whether the reason for this was congestion of the courts or negligence, there is obviously no deterrent in such a record. Again, juries fail to convict when they should; in several cases when people were killed because brakes did not work, the juries excused the guilty drivers for taking out their cars when mechanically defective. More important, however, than the punishment of the guilty is the prevention of accident, and here of course the responsibility rests largely with the State. Anything that can be done to stiffen the requirements or make more complete the control should be immediately undertaken; for there are thousands of drivers on the roads who have never passed any test and in the cities many taxicab drivers with criminal records. Where thousands upon thousands of men are constantly applying for licenses it is not easy to give a thorough test to everybody. Indeed, it is a stupendous problem to control and to test ten millions of drivers in forty-eight States, look up their references, and review their past lives. Unfortunately, no mechanical device is in itself adequate—not even the throttling down of every motor vehicle to a speed of fifteen miles, for drunken drivers would still menace the community at that speed. But the difficulties in the task must spur us on to further action; the State and public opinion must find a way to control so deadly a contrivance.

"The Art of Keeping Cool"

THE sidewalks are wet with a March slush; a fine rain is slanting down across St. Paul's churchyard. Summer, we begin to think, will never come back to a world that does not deserve it, that does not know how to use it for better purposes than holding international conferences and editing papers. We flap over the pages of the foreign press, heaped in dusty bundles at our elbows. It seems that the world is pretty generally uncomfortable in one way or another. Either a country is enduring a royal wedding, or meeting a financial crisis, or fighting a famine or a war. On the Transvaal the miners' strike is spreading; government intervention is looked for; the crisis is serious. The *Cape Times* tells the same sort of tale that the rest tell. But suddenly, with the casualness of all stupendous events, only one page away from strikes and panics, we fall into summer—hot, riotous, flamboyant summer. The Art of Keeping Cool—thus is the column headed, and below we find all that had seemed to vanish from our world. Strawberries with cool whipped cream . . . grape cup and sherry cobbler . . . dim rooms with drawn blinds . . . the thermometer showing 95° in the shade. There must be a pleasant beach somewhere along the Cape of Good Hope where on February Sundays the happy editors of the *Cape Times* splash their toes in the sea and let the sun do its worst. There must be charming luncheons in quiet restaurants in Cape Town where the author of The Art of Keeping Cool is even today stowing away the viands he describes: "cold dishes flanked with crisp salads, a cool junket, and plenty of fresh fruit." There must be amiability, optimism, humor. The strike cannot really bother people much; the next batch of papers will doubtless tell us it is over. In the light of that sub-equatorial sunshine the world itself must take on pleasanter hues; a country that is too hot to fight has a golden chance of growing wise. After all, what this earth needs is warmth—warmth to melt the deathly rigors of French statesmen, to relax the tense suspicion of neighbors about neighbors, to give food to hungry people. Even royal weddings might take on an air of unceremonious gaiety if the weather were melting and languorous. Dignity, pride, caution, reserve—all the qualities that make the life of men and of nations angular and forbidding—dissolve in good hot sunshine, along with the starch that gives them their fictitious air of importance and power.

Of course St. Paul's churchyard is still wet, but the wind has moved from east to south. It carries with it no hint of the Cape, no breath of strawberries or hot beaches; but the sky is clearing, and after all in March there is hope. We may still be sitting down to ham and mashed potatoes—we do not need yet to worry over the selection of "food that does not overheat the body, yet supplies it with material for rebuilding the tissue we wear out at cricket, tennis, golf, bowling, cycling"—but summer may after all be a promise, not a lost hope. And malice helps us to optimism. South Africa may swelter delightfully while we go cold and damp, but if summer comes to us, winter will as surely reach the Cape, and next August when the draughts have all forsaken our office, we shall turn over the pages of the *Cape Times* with a new eagerness to the column beginning: "Ten degrees in the sun. . . . The coldest July 15 in the history of the city." Is the optimist after all only the mean fellow who knows that somebody is worse off than he is?

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Freight Conductor's Story

By ONE OF THIRTY YEARS' SERVICE

I

WHEN as a boy I left home thirty years ago this coming summer (having contracted no bad habits then or since) I was imbued with the idea which prevailed at that time that all a man had to do was to be faithful in his labors and in due season he would reap his reward. I obtained a position on the railroad and shortly after married. My wife was very lonesome as she was far from her people and alone. She was by nature a pessimist, I an optimist.

In time I was promoted to the duties of a conductor. And right here I want to protest against the ever-widening differential between engineers and conductors, based not only on responsibility and service rendered but on promotion chances. A conductor has about one chance of promotion to three for the engineer, due to the number of trainmen employed on a train as against one fireman. Conductors and trainmen are also invariably denied the privilege of covering yard assignments, which are open to engineers, as the two classes are kept separate. Consequently when I accepted promotion, as far as home life was concerned, I went from bad to worse. I was a week or a month in this place and then that place, paying board and room rent; having a home and yet never there.

I still held to my optimism; but it was reduced, due to a lack of vacancies in the conductors' class. Then, too, the size of engines and the new mode of operation (first in first out, instead of regular schedule trains) was having its effect. Although promoted, promotion was not keeping pace with demotion due to the changing character of the service. Way-freight service, which is laborious as well as dangerous, often provides opportunity for a man to get a home-town run. Practically all of these runs are operated by our oldest men as the only means of getting home. It seems too bad to see these old men graduated back to the way freight in order to keep a home. My optimism did not deny to me that I should be home at least one day in seven, and so far as permitted by the road to do so I followed this plan and finally landed a home-town way freight.

When we were married a good old aunt said: "Don't give them anything. They will not appreciate the value of things unless they earn them themselves." This, possibly not from choice, has been the motto of our lives. In doing this, I have been able only to provide decently for my family, making no provision as yet for old age other than a roof (thanks to good health which the railroad did not give me). Any little added income has been more than absorbed by increased expenses, and my lengthening service has not helped my financial condition but injured it. This accounts for lack of vacations and trips that I in my optimism had promised my wife. We took our wedding trip at our fifteenth anniversary and turned the calendar's face toward the wall at our twenty-fifth. Would you cherish a picture of that event? We were being broken to the fact that Sunday and overtime work were included as a part of our normal income and absolutely required of us as a means of getting it.

II

Dropping into the library at my away-from-home terminal, I picked up *The Nation* and saw the suggestion that some reliable information regarding the earnings of railroad men might be obtained from reports to the Commissioner of Internal Revenue. This is a good suggestion, and while in no way adequate, it is without question the basis of the argument used by the railroads in their efforts to reduce wages and was likewise given consideration during the war period when the men were making legitimate efforts to get their earnings increased to a living wage.

This was in evidence when the Railroad Labor Board, in announcing the 1920 award, said it was unable as a body to agree on the wages that should be paid certain classes. Speaking from a freight conductor's standpoint, I have always felt that we were one of the classes referred to, as the through-freight conductor's rate (the main artery of railroad business) was placed below that of a yard brakeman, and was accepted by the conductors under protest. This rate was arrived at evidently by a consideration of yearly earnings and the opportunity of these men to work extra miles and extra hours. This would not be so bad if the Labor Board in future deliberations would bear this fact in mind and make correction when business conditions or the practical application of rates proved them to be unjust. Rates based upon the foregoing facts are dependent upon good business for support, and once business fails the rate becomes automatically unjust. If we are to use yearly earnings as a basis for a rate, it would be decidedly unfair to use the earnings of 1920, when business was at its highest pinnacle, as a basis for a rate for 1922. By such a method rates would always be a year behind the times. Earnings for 1921 should govern the decisions for 1922. If this were done, the rates for classes working on such a basis would not be cut, but rather a raise might be given serious consideration.

Applying this method personally gives a good illustration of its effect in actual operation. This illustration is more than fair, as my twenty-eight years in train service have made it possible for me to remain on the same run during the last few years. It is not so fairly illustrative of the effect upon men who did not have rating enough to insure to them a like amount of work. My case is a good illustration also from the fact that it is a one-hundred-miles-straightway run, nothing having any effect on the wages except days of work weekly and amount of overtime earned.

In 1920 my yearly earnings were $3,213.08; in 1921 they were $2,187.61, a loss of $1,025.47, or 32 per cent. We have our own problems in connection with reduced earnings as well as the railroads. It is rather staggering, is it not, when you face a reduced earning power of $1,025.47 in one year? How do I account for it? Very simply. The conditions which made possible the earnings of 1920, upon which the railroads based their arguments for a reduced wage, were not in evidence in 1921; and the earnings of 1920 are still held up as an argument for another cut. The winter of 1919-1920 (in New England anyway) was the worst for snow we have had in years, and the dollars received by the men represented actual hardships endured, many giving up their lives; such earnings should not have been used as a basis for a reduction in the daily rate of pay.

In going over my time book I take note of the following:

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

December 4, 1920, put on a six-day basis—that means that practically all of 1920 we operated seven days each week; and all of 1921 we operated six days each week. This alone would account for a loss, including possible overtime, of approximately $400. I also noted and made the following comparisons between the hours worked the first six weeks of 1920 and those of 1921:

1920

First	week	7 days	79 hours	30 minutes
Second	"	5 "	78 "	55 "
Third	"	7 "	82 "	50 "
Fourth	"	7 "	88 "	10 "
Fifth	"	7 "	89 "	0 "
Sixth	"	5 "	50 "	5 "

Thirty-eight days, an average overtime of 4 hours and 19 minutes per day. Off two round trips in six weeks, one in the second week and one in the sixth.

1921

First	week	6 days	53 hours	45 minutes
Second	"	6 "	55 "	20 "
Third	"	6 "	50 "	20 "
Fourth	"	6 "	50 "	30 "
Fifth	"	6 "	53 "	40 "
Sixth	"	6 "	52 "	40 "

Thirty-six days, an average overtime of 47 minutes per day. No time off.

This comparison shows plainly that the weather as well as business was a large factor in boosting wages for 1920; it also shows that it is possible to operate trains, even in winter weather, with a comparatively small amount of overtime. Railroad officials are experts on comparisons, but they do not interest themselves in such as these. I have no right to feel that my wages of 1922 will come to those of 1921, for the reason that during the first six months of 1921 we were paid under the old rate, the authorized cut of the Labor Board of sixty-four cents per day becoming effective July 1, 1921; and the railroads have before the Board a request for another cut.

You may ask, What became of the money earned in 1920? In some ways this added income was providential in that it made it possible for me to pay for items of unusual expense, yet more or less common and to be expected: a surgical operation, after-care, nurse, and hospital bills, not for myself. I had to keep working, entering 1921 with a clean slate and $200 paid on a mortgage. I enter 1922 with a bill of $100 unpaid and needed clothing, dental work, house repairs, and household replacements not taken care of—to be frank, a very gloomy outlook.

This is only the dollars and cents side of the question. There is the human side: conditions of labor which continually keep members of the family under a nervous strain that, sooner or later, becomes to all railroad men and their families almost unbearable. While this is general, I have for illustration's sake made it to some extent personal; of course this is a delicate matter. It seems almost unbelievable and unbearable that men rendering such a valuable and necessary service (to say nothing about hazard and conditions of service) should be so abused; yet practically every newspaper you pick up condemns us in editorial or elsewhere, and Congressmen let no opportunity pass to vilify us (and even while doing so there are bureaus of information available to them which make their claims untenable). That is what we with long periods of service to our credit cannot understand, that along with our toil should go this burden of undeserved condemnation.

III

As already told, after long service I finally landed (and took, in order to have some time at home) a way freight. I clung to this persistently. The war came but the earning power of my job was not increased. I was handed a yearly earnings slip for the year 1917 of $1,390.74 for services rendered as freight conductor. Something had to be done. A conductor put his head against a bridge and a so-called money job was open. The money paid was possible by operating seven days each week and long hours, no miles concerned.

Were you ever homesick? Well, if you had a bad attack it is like being out on the road on a Sunday, church bells ringing, automobile parties, children in the fields, everything possible to add to your discomfort. But I choked my conscience, my principles, religious ones included, and went after money. The rate was lower but there was more time spent on the road, the railroad man's method of increasing his income.

There came the belated rewards, an obligation long unfulfilled but made to appear as added to an already high wage. The rush of war business had made the wages possible, and the loyalty of the men and their own needs kept them at it through trying and long hours. Their patience is now termed disloyalty and inefficiency. Then in a few months came the cry to have the higher pay lowered, which has resulted so far in a reduction of sixty-four cents per day. A railroad man in train service is a man who realizes the need of doing the work of his position in such a manner as to preclude the possibility of carelessness or negligence entering into the performance of it. This is not born in a man or acquired quickly; he realizes more and more each year from the school of experience the need of it. The personnel of the railroads in train service has been greatly reduced and at present represents, without exception, men of experience and proved efficiency in handling trains. To use the words of a college president in speaking to the student body at the time of the last strike cloud, "You must remember you are taking the places of men who are making this their life work." The railroads and many of the public then and now seemed to want a showdown. Think of having a showdown with men who have proved their worth to these railroads and the public for long periods of service, from five years to fifty! Would it not be better to insist on cutting out misrepresentation and getting together on a basis of facts and equity?

If any one feels that the services of these men can be replaced he has a dream like Jack's Bean Stalk. What method did the railroads take recently to provide service in such an emergency? They solicited the return of employees who had been discharged for immorality or incompetence; swapping proved efficiency for proved inefficiency. If such a method should be adopted it would mean the downfall of railroad securities as well as of service.

Is not optimism, like conservatism, in some cases a sin? I have drifted along with confidence in it, with this result: that I am entering 1922 with a boy graduating from high school and expecting to go to college, a wife completely worn out and needing a change, a reduced earning power of over $1,000—and more to come. Well, I will just keep working, trusting the sixteen-hour days will come back, as they are part of our income; but that won't do of itself.

If optimism ever did anything, it has got to get on the job in 1922.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Italian Bubble Bursts

By ARTHUR LIVINGSTON

THE failure of the Italian Discount Bank (Banca Italiana di Sconto) is the effective comment of events on the clamor of subsidized nationalism and subsidized patriotism that has been stifling, for the three years past, voices of less cogent resonance in Italy. While some critics have reasonably feared that the catastrophe might be the beginning of the often-heralded European debacle, a more optimistic view is that this "financial Caporetto" forces the nation back to solid ground whence the real work of recovery from the war may begin.

The Banca Italiana di Sconto was one of the four leading houses of finance in Italy. The others are the Banca Commerciale Italiana, the Banco di Roma, and the Credito Italiano. The Banca Commerciale, founded originally with German capital, was for years before the war the nexus between financial Italy and the other members of the Triple Alliance. It is interested, primarily, in textiles, mines, and electric power. The Banco di Roma, as the vehicle and instrument of Catholic and Papal enterprise, concerned itself largely with the building trades, with agriculture, and with colonial development in Africa. If the Banca Commerciale was once a cog in the machine of Hohenzollern *Weltpolitik*, the Banco di Roma did its bit in bringing on the Italian war with Turkey. The Credito Italiano, a solid institution of business men, has never played politics. It is largely responsible for the automobile industry.

The Italian Discount Bank—steel, shipbuilding, mechanical engineering, moving-pictures—was founded (December, 1914) and developed as a speculation in war industries. Much as the Banca Commerciale Italiana was backed by German capital, so the Banca Italiana di Sconto was supported by French finance (particularly through the holdings of M. Louis-Louis Dreyfus) and was used as one of the means to stimulate Italian participation in the war on the side of the Allies.

The aim was the creation and extension of the huge munition plants required for national defense. In this work it used the German scheme of direct participation in production. It invested in the equipment of the enterprises it fostered under the superintendency of its own representatives—thus immobilizing huge percentages of its assets. In 1920 it carried 73 millions in reserves against debits of 317 (the Banca Commerciale has 115 against 250). It was the bank of "Italian audacity," of "imagination," "large vision," "pep." "Ausu romano, aere italico!" Which may be freely translated: "With Perrone's daring, and the money of the Italian peasant." The paramount venture of the Discount Bank was in the Ansaldo Iron and Steel Company, which the Fascisti point to every time a Cook tourist mentions Michelangelo. The Ansaldo Company was, however, a sort of generic name for the massed interests of those Gold Dust twins of Italian reaction, the brothers Mario and Pio Perrone. These adventurous spirits—would-be Italian Stinneses—created the Italian brand of "connected industries": from iron mines to smelting; from the furnaces to shipbuilding, war munitions, artillery, rails and locomotives, electric engines, aeroplanes, agricultural machinery—hence to advertisement, journalism, control of public opinion, political domination.

The trouble with this grandiose scheme was that it centered the Imperial Italy of the future on the production of steel—the one commodity of all commodities that cannot be manufactured in Italy at a profit (lack of raw materials, coal primarily). The general theory of the Perrones was that what is not possible economically is always possible politically—government contracts, on the one hand; protectionism on the other. As for government contracts, conditions in Italy were not far different from those prevalent in all the belligerent countries—except that in Italy, in view of the international and social situation, the coalition of war-speculators was in a better strategic position to retain money not earned and to defend prospects still unrealized.

The question of protection was more far-reaching, however. The demand that all foreign competition be excluded from the Italian market involved nothing less than taxation of all Italian industry and consumption in the interests of the "mother industry," steel. Now in cheap labor and in water-power there is a solid basis for a fertile industry in Italy. Such industry—notably textiles—could well be alarmed at a protectionist policy calculated to cause reprisals in foreign markets and to disturb the equilibrium of trade at home. It does not fear competition. It is strong and confident in its technical skill and in its efficiency of organization. From the day of the armistice the Italian business world was accordingly divided into two camps: the vast mass of "political industries," fattened and inflated, but not educated by the war, and managed by the "new men"—speculators, and "easy money" experts—for the most part; and opposed to these, the "old-fashioned" business men of "established reputation" and enterprise.

Unable to effect a compromise with the opposing financial groups (the two camps did indeed interlock through certain individuals and in certain enterprises) the Perrone brothers, early in 1919, conceived the audacious plan of conquering and cornering the financial credits of Italy. One morning, it will be remembered, the stocks of the Banca Commerciale Italiana began to rise; and they kept steadily rising for no apparent reason; no dividend had been declared by the bank, and no new business in particular had been announced. When Commerciale paper had reached incredible altitudes, rumors of a financial intrigue began to circulate. The Perrone brothers, already holders of some shares in the Commerciale, had instructed their agents to buy as many more as possible on the floors of all exchanges. The directors of the bank saw in the maneuver an attempt to purchase a majority of the shares, and entered the market in self-defense. Such gigantic sums of money soon changed hands that, after the fray was over, the Perrones accused the directors of buying in stock with the deposits in the bank (a malfeasance under Italian law) to the extent of 500 million lire. This intrigue, famous in recent financial history as "Perrone's bank-storming party" ("scalata alle banche") was a failure for the Ansaldo interests. Had the titles acquired at such fantastic figures been dumped back on the market a panic of European proportions might have ensued. Instead, the combatants came to a compromise. A consortium was formed to take over the stock and deflate it gradually, while the Perrones were consoled with vice-presidencies in the Banca Commerciale.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The counter-attack of the "conservatives" was not slow in materializing. The Reconstruction Commission, headed by Senator Ettore Conti (the foremost electrical engineering promoter of Italy), made a wholesale investigation of Ansaldo war contracts, recovering millions in unearned money, and bringing about the bankruptcy of the Ilva iron works (a tenuous and diaphanous organization, built up on war contracts and financed by surplus "water" from other concerns in the steel "chain").

The Perrones, meanwhile, consummated successfully a raid upon the Italian press, whereby a number of newspapers, great and small (the capture of the *Secolo-Messaggiero* syndicate was the most important), passed into their hands. A publicity campaign of unprecedented ferocity and venality was begun against various individualities of the opposition—Mr. Toeplitz (a man of German origin, and one of the original directors of the Commerciale) and Senators Crespi and Conti. The outstanding episode in this year of mud-slinging to and fro was the forgery of the basic documents in an imaginary "German plot" to capture Italian industry. The Perrone papers attempted to convict their antagonists as "German agents," and even accused them of fomenting the labor unrest of the fall of 1920. The seizure of the factories by the workers was permitted by Giolitti, they said, under pressure from the Commerciale interests, working, in turn, on an understanding with Stinnes to make Italy a German "dumping ground."

This fight became so bitter that public opinion forced the Senate to take cognizance of it. The result has been, among other things, a voluminous official history of Italian financial intrigue in the last three years. If the measures by which the Commerciale met the "bank storming" intrigue remain in doubt, not so the process by which the Perrones passed into control of Italian shipping interests. Their press conducted "patriotic" publicity during the war to rescue the merchant marine from German control through a seizure by the Italian equivalent of the Alien Property Custodian. When the stocks of shipping had fallen to nothing, the Perrones bought them in, had the confiscation removed, and the shares went back to par in "100 per cent Italian" money.

It is not surprising that, in this atmosphere, the normal business of the Ansaldo companies was not prospering. When the current "depression" came on, the Perrones were forced to their knees. The sum of 700 millions, furnished by the opposition but nominally advanced by the State bank (Banca d' Italia), was supplied to the steel industries, on condition, however, that the Perrone brothers step off the financial scene. Their humiliation did not stop here. The Senatorial Commission on War Contracts has now put their personal properties in the hands of a receiver pending the study and settlement of a number of alleged irregularities in their individual accounts with the Ansaldo corporation.

This investigation reveals that two billions, instead of 700 millions, would scarcely liquidate the obligations contracted by "frenzied finance" and war speculation in the raid of the steel ring upon the business of the country. It is in connection with this appalling deficit that the Italian Discount Bank closes its doors. About 250 million lire will probably be lost by the bank depositors (many of whom are peasants of the Liberal south).

It is interesting now to look back on some of the conspicuous episodes of Italian politics during the past three years in the light of the financial struggle which has just ended with the defeat of the Perrones. Italian imperialism, national megalomania, uncompromising patriotism have been the social by-product of the lively interest that Italian steel has taken in its own future. The *Idea Nazionale*, the official organ of extreme nationalism, has been at the center of every paroxysm of chauvinistic fury in the public. And the *Idea Nazionale* received a subsidy of 250,000 lire a month from the Ansaldo companies. However, the ramifications of steel through Italian journalism have, in the last year especially, become much more extensive; to such a degree that Italian journalists have been forced to organize to protect such freedom of expression as constant change of newspaper ownership allowed them, and in order not to lose all reputation for integrity with the public. For that matter political journalism has all but committed suicide in Italy. Public favor is rapidly turning toward what are known as "industrial" publicity enterprises—papers, that is, which depend on sales and on advertising for their maintenance.

Rarely in Great Power history, however, has the connection between "vital issue" and publicity, and between publicity and financial interest been more wholesomely revealed than in Italy. One phase, one phase only indeed, of the Adriatic question, may be outlined as follows: (1) Italian claims to Dalmatia were first advanced in 1916 by the Clerical press (*Corriere d'Italia*), in order to embarrass Italian official war propaganda in Jugoslavia. (2) These claims were taken up by the Nationalists as a tangible concentration point for patriotic (and protectionist) enthusiasm. (3) Caporetto forced a compromise (in bad faith from the outset) with the Jugoslavs in the so-called "pact of Rome" (spring of 1918). (4) The Fiume question fell from the lap of the gods and of Wilson to prevent an immediate return to normality, to postpone demobilization by preserving the threat of war, to justify continuance of war contracts, and to perpetuate public unrest as a favorable milieu for launching protectionist publicity.

The proletarian seizure of the factories was, in its political and juridical episodes, a counter-attack of "safe and sane" industry upon "political" and "new" industry. The steel operators were tricked into resisting the demands of the workers on promise of support from all other manufacturers; who at once pacified their laborers with reasonable concessions, knowing well that the steel industries would not be able to follow suit.

The Fascista movement was founded, financed, and consolidated around the Fiume issue to further the same policies for which the Fiume issue had been manufactured. The course of events and the logic of those policies turned it later toward the social question.

This summary outline deliberately takes no account of the "idealistic" forces that have also played their part in these episodes of recent Italian history. It simply states the elements of financial policy without which they would either not have occurred at all or have had a different development. The collapse of the steel combination is the bankruptcy of all this philosophy of hysteria, marking the close of the war epoch and a definite beginning of the period of reconstruction. This is the optimistic side of an otherwise sordid picture.*

*In the weeks since the failure of the Banca di Sconto the Nationalist press has been raising again the ghost of the "German peril" in an effort to compel the Government to take over the losses of the bank. This "patriotic" shouting naturally had behind it the self-interest of thousands of depositors. The situation explains the final difficulties of the Bonomi Cabinet, and those in the way of forming a new government. The present plan is to pay 65 per cent of deposits in cash; and form a new "liquidating" bank with another 10 per cent. A portion of the remaining 25 per cent will be rescued in the final auctioning of the Banca di Sconto properties.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Fridtjof Nansen Speaks

By FRITHJOF TOKSVIG

ON the evening of the last day in January a crowd of people saw the doors of Queen's Hall, London, shut in their faces by a detachment of police. A sign "Admission by ticket only" had been there for an hour, but still they hoped. Dr. Fridtjof Nansen was to speak on the Russian famine, and the crowd wanted to hear him, so much so that they scurried around to the back of the hall and in some mysterious way nearly all got in. They had to sit behind the stereopticon screen, but no matter, they were there, and the meeting began.

Lord Robert Cecil, hook-nosed, earnest, and shrill in voice, had been speaking of Dr. Nansen. When the late-comers were settled in their seats he gestured simply to the tall figure at his side. The audience applauded; they rose to their feet; the applause grew to a roar, and for the first time I heard a British audience cheer. They sat down; Dr. Nansen was speaking, an erect elderly man in evening dress, bald, with a blond mustache, long lean cheek, and eyes that were almost fierce under a bulging forehead.

He hoped that the welcome would mean a like reception of his cause. Four months ago he had tried to bring to the attention of a world tribunal, the Assembly of the League of Nations, the situation in Russia as he saw it at the time. He had asked for five million sterling, less than the cost of one battleship. The Allied governments had refused.

Now there is in Russia the most appalling famine in the history of the world. A famine of a grain-producing district inhabited by thirty-three million people, nineteen million of whom are threatened with starvation. Millions are doomed to die, whatever be done. At least ten million lives are at stake. This is not a famine of a few months only. Unless the peasants grow crops this year, unless they sow crops in April, the famine will rage next year too. In two months means must be found of getting seed and cultivating the fields.

Why, then, did the governments refuse? He believed there were three reasons. The first was that the press had held that to help Russia was to maintain the Soviet Government. The second that it was considered impossible to get any real guaranties for the proper distribution of relief. The third, and to his mind the only serious one, that the economic state of Europe was such that the governments did not feel justified in imposing further burdens on their taxpayers.

Dr. Nansen said it was no longer a question of witholding aid in order to upset the Soviet Government. This Government was no longer on the point of falling. He held that it had never been right to withhold aid. He would ask the audience to consider the case of mariners in distress at sea. Before we aided them, should we ask the captain for the log book? Should we exact promises that the ship would be better navigated in the future? It had been said that it was wrong to help the Russian people as they had themselves to blame for their troubles. In his opinion, Dr. Nansen said, famine was due to various causes:

The war and the evils in its train. Russia had had seven years of war and civil war.

The blockade, which was a direct result of the war. The full effect of the blockade must not be underestimated.

And, as he wished to be frank, Dr. Nansen said, another cause was the system of requisition adopted by the Soviet Government, which was, however, abandoned when the present famine was in sight.

The conclusion which the speaker would draw from these facts was that the famine was due to causes over which the Russian people had no control. The nature of the Soviet system and conditions in Russia were no justification of the refusal of aid by other governments.

In regard to the second objection, the impossibility of a guaranty for the proper distribution of relief, Dr. Nansen pointed out that when you went into a country to distribute relief it was necessary to take into account the authorities of that country. He tried to make an agreement with Moscow. He made it. All relief workers now admitted that his agreement was more than ample. It had been said in the press that trains were pillaged. There was not a word of truth in it. The goods go over the border in sealed bags and under Soviet protection. In one case where a loss did occur, the Soviet authorities made good to the Society of Friends by a draft on London. Dr. Nansen felt justified in claiming that every ounce of food would reach those for whom it was intended, and that the Soviet authorities had done and were doing everything in their power to help. Distrust of the relief work had been created by shameless lies. Lies had been invented about the work; about everyone connected with it. These lies had produced their effect. They might mean the death of millions. He should like to meet the man who made those lies.

The third objection was that Europe could not afford to help Russia. He would say that Europe could not afford *not* to help Russia. The reconstruction of Europe must begin with the reconstruction of Russia. And it could not begin with famine on the Volga next year. Why did the Soviets not deal with the famine? They had done and were still doing what they could. They got part of the winter sowing done when the peasants were nearly dead; a great achievement. But unfortunately economic conditions in Russia were as bad as critics had claimed, and Russia could not deal with the famine herself.

Dr. Nansen asked the audience not to let the Russians wait too long or he was afraid that the Volga would become a graveyard. The cost of saving one life was only fifteen shillings. Four months ago he had asked for help, and now he had come again. He had expected to find famine in Russia, but not whole villages, no, whole provinces, too weak to fetch food. He found people who had lost all human sentiment; who dug up corpses that they might live. That was a month ago; now it was worse. Now they had begun to kill one another. These things were not easy to tell, nor to listen to. But he wanted the people of all Europe to know the truth. He believed they would compel the governments to intervene. A month ago he was on the Volga, among the children with their strange large eyes which tell of starvation. He felt those eyes upon him. For the sake of those children he was appealing to, and through, his hearers before it was too late.

The audience in Queen's Hall cheered Dr. Nansen again when he had finished. But it was a different kind of cheer. It was as if those who cheered had suddenly come into contact with something startlingly real. Of course there was a collection, and I had the novel experience of seeing men and women looking for the collection plate instead of trying to avoid it. They had heard Dr. Nansen.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In the Driftway

THE Drifter is fascinated by the "mastheads" of certain journals. There is the *Common Herd*, for instance, an estimable single-tax paper proudly announcing that it is

Published quarterly by Richard Potts, Editor and Proprietor, at 502 North Texas Building, Dallas, Texas. One dollar a year; half a year 50 cents; cash in advance; payable in stamps, private checks, money orders, dollar bills in letters, coon-skins, eggs, or butter. I take all the risks of loss in mail and pay the freight. Or you may subscribe on credit and pay later or beat me out of it as you like. If you subscribe and do not like the magazine, drop me a card, and I shall stop the magazine and keep the money as a remembrance of yourself.

The Drifter would be moved to subscribe at once (on credit) if he did not have a copy of the magazine before him, with its leading poem:

> The Golden Age will soon be here,
> We have not long to wait.
> The rays of light may soon appear;
> Be not disconsolate.

Somehow the Drifter prefers to save his dollar and remain a cheerful pessimist along with his friends the editors of *The Nation*.

* * * * *

THEN there is the dadaistic *Manuscripts*, with its delightfully simple and unintelligible cover, its futuristic prose, and its frank masthead:

Mss. is published by the authors of the writing which appears in it. Send them ten cents a copy if you like it, or subscribe one dollar for ten numbers to be issued in ten days—ten weeks—ten months—or ten years. The risk is yours. Act at once if you want to be one of the first 100,000,000 subscribers. The entire cost of this number of *Mss.* is the printing bill of $234 presented by Clarence S. Nathan, Inc., and paid by the authors. Each author is solely responsible for what appears over his signature. Complaints should be sent to individual authors. Subscriptions will be received by Paul Rosenfeld, 77 Irving Place, New York. Donations of money will be received with thanks by the same. For the cover design—apologies to American Dada and Marcel Duchamps and Man Ray.

Within the Drifter finds a sort of drama entitled Gossip, containing lines such as these:

. . . I sing. Lying on my back, I sing. I look up feeling Presence. There about me stand seven Cows.
I sing to them.

I: O cows, come near. For you live. Come near, for I live. Come nearer, cows.
Cows: What are you doing up here, you who live?
I: Why should I not live?

There is more of the same, and some exquisite lines, even in Gossip. There is prose by Sherwood Anderson, winner of the *Dial's* prize; an enthusiastic review of a book, by one disciple of Alfred Stieglitz, by another even more enthusiastic disciple; and a poem, printed in seven lines which, ruthlessly compressed into one, read "My luv is like a green-glass insulator on a blue sky." But somehow, from a comparison of "mastheads" and "bodies" of these two papers, the Drifter comes to a conclusion which he might have reached even without that study, that even among the reformers and the super-intelligentsia of America the science and technique of advertising, even of self-advertising, has reached a far higher level than has the rare art of creative writing.

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Letters to the Editor should ordinarily not exceed 500 words, and shorter communications are more likely to be printed. In any case the Editor reserves the right to abridge communications.

Police Brutality in Chicago

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The exposure of police brutality and third-degree methods in your issue of January 25 has been welcome in Chicago where the evil seems to have been carried to unbelievably hideous extremes. Our *Daily News* of January 28 carried the story of a court inquiry into the subject. Nearly a score of persons who alleged that they had been victims of "third-degree" cruelties appeared with their attorneys in the court of Chief Justice Scanlan. The hearing was on the petition of the attorney representing William G. Smith, who is now in our county jail and, according to his attorney, has been rendered insane through police brutality. Attorneys, however, were present representing other clients who wished to support similar charges. Thus Attorney C—— is reported to have said:

> A client of mine named Essig Sardon was so badly beaten that he became insane and is now in an asylum. He was arrested on suspicion of murder and was cruelly battered by the police. When he came to trial Judge John R. Caverly appointed a court alienist and Sardon was sent to the asylum.
>
> I have been endeavoring for the past six months to bring to account some officers of the detective bureau, including Chief of Detectives Michael Hughes, who beat seven clients whom I represented. They were arrested last summer and were held in the detective bureau. They were not booked and when I got out a writ of habeas corpus Judge David released them. The men stripped to their waists in the courtroom and Judge David was astounded at the marks of brutality the men showed. He told me to get warrants for the officers, but I have been refused warrants by both the municipal judges and the state attorney's office.

The attorney offered to submit photographs which had been taken of the men in this last case.

And how many persons in Chicago, one wonders, read the reports of our Municipal Court? The last one contains a selected list of histories of cases from the Boys' Court. Among these (p. 222) is the case of S. L——, who was sent to Pontiac after he had been "beaten up by policeman. His eye almost knocked out and wrist broken." Where the court sent the policeman we are not told.

And may I go one step further? It is not only police brutality of this kind that makes for increased violence on the part of criminals; it is the freedom which the police apparently enjoy to shoot when they will. Our last published Police Department report (that for 1920) shows (p. 33) that in a single year thirty-seven persons were shot and killed by our so-called "guardians of the law." In the report these are called "justifiable and excusable homicides" and they are classified as follows:

Shot by police officers acting in self-defense	5
Accidentally shot by police officers	4
Suspicious persons and felons shot by police officers while attempting to escape arrest, search, or questioning	9
Shot by police officers while or after committing a crime	11
Shot by private police and watchmen while or after committing a crime	7
Shot by police officers when mistaken for burglar	1
	37

On pages 12 and 13 of the report we are given accounts of some of these shooting affrays. One of these men was "besieged and killed by police officers" and another was "shot to death by other police officers when he resisted arrest." In these two cases the bandits who were surrounded by armed officers defended themselves. They also shot to kill, and did kill, two

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

patrolmen. Apparently policemen must not expect bandits to turn the other cheek.

These statistics seem to point again to the conclusion reached in your article that violence on the part of the police increases the danger of violence by criminals. That the Metropolitan police of London are not allowed to carry weapons leads in turn to the fact that criminals in the metropolis are not likely to carry weapons to defend themselves and is certainly one reason for the relatively small number of murders in London as compared with New York or Chicago.

Chicago, February 2 EDITH ABBOTT

The Pacific Treaties

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I agree entirely with Mr. Villard's appraisal of the Washington Conference. I think the treaties should be ratified but I think there are some obscurities that ought to be cleared up. We surely ought to know exactly the obligations we undertake.

What are the rights in "any Pacific question" which we are to respect and join in "most efficient measures" to protect against external aggression? Something beyond "the insular possessions and insular dominions" but what? Does it mean spheres of influence and if so what becomes of the Open Door? But do not all maritime nations have rights, especially in the Pacific mainlands?

And what is meant by the "aggressive action of any other Power"? If military action is meant why not say so? What if in China there should be a general boycott of Japanese goods? But assuredly an attempt to expel the Japanese from Manchuria or Siberia would call for our aid. This in case of China is very improbable during the life of the treaty but much less so on the part of Russia. I do not believe that there was an intention to commit us to the defense of Japan in such an emergency but the language of the treaty ought not to be capable of more than one interpretation.

Melrose, Florida, February 19 H. E. WARNER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The current issue of *The Nation* carries your final views on the Washington Conference. Therein, I believe, is the fairest summary of its genuine accomplishments and undeniable shortcomings.

There is no doubt to an American mind that it is given America to "lead," and lead for the fuller development of our race. Historically we are so situated; intellectually we are well prepared; economically well supplied. There seems to be no "escape"; and we cannot dodge the task History is determined America shall play—anyway so it seems to the humbly thinking mind of an ex-service man who is just emerging from the army hospitals. It occurs to me that the next step for America is to appoint a Secretary of Peace as a permanent officer in our executive.

Silver Spring, Maryland, February 21 DAVID GITTLEMAN

The Matter with the Colleges

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: One thing that is the matter with the colleges is that not Constance Leupp Todd alone but other pioneer spirits also among their alumni have become discouraged about them and many have deserted them. While they are undergraduates the young radicals labor with energy to maintain the new spirit in their colleges, but when they have become alumni and their influence has begun to count, they leave the colleges to the officers and founders and to the more timid members of older classes.

But it is denied that the colleges are training the young people for pioneer work. When I look back at my own four years at college I find that the ideals which Constance Leupp herself was among the first to inspire in me were strengthened by my undergraduate life and work as they had never been before and have not been since. I studied labor problems under Professor Ripley and heard him tell of the longshoremen's strike he was in process of arbitrating in New York. I listened to lectures by Professor Chafee and attended discussions under Dr. Frankfurter. And if classes under Harold Laski fell on the same day as those of Professor Carver or Professor Bullock, it merely meant that the liberal ideas were strengthened and clarified by the conflict. For the intelligent or at least fair-minded student there was every opportunity for a liberal education in the true sense of the word.

But that was at Radcliffe, and Radcliffe has the Harvard faculty and the Harvard tradition which Mrs. Todd admits has the best claim to academic freedom. And how about the alumnae, the test of a college? Even in the earlier classes one can find names associated with movements that Mrs. Todd is well acquainted with, and as one approaches the present generation the list grows longer, even as the proportion of students specializing in economics and government is on the increase.

But since too much of what Constance Todd complained of in her letter to *The Nation* has to be admitted as true, my answer to her final question is, No. If the radicals and liberals are wise, they will not continue to "leave the colleges to their own devices" or to the devices of the timid and the prejudiced. They will, first of all, do their utmost to help make the colleges that are worth while financially independent. Then they will labor for the independence of the students. The liberals and radicals will, I hope, give more attention to the colleges. They can make them their own if only they will try.

New York, February 5 MARION L. SVECENSKI

In Defense of Censorship

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: This article on stage censorship was rather provocative. Confound its pessimism—its worldliness. We all know there are publics and publics—and that at present they get what they want, i. e., demand. But isn't this a shameful admission? Men who have made progress in their own moral workshop ought and *will* see to it that others with greater handicaps reap the benefit of their counsel.

Prohibition is an essential of education. If there is enough of prohibition there is bound to be sane activity. If "Hamlet" isn't played, it's a cinch something is going to be, and with a little moral stamina and pocket-money risk the theater could do in jig-time what everyone who is passably educated desires. Given the choice of good and evil, any man will choose (after an equal period of test) the good; but hang it all, the average factory slave can't afford opera and "As You Like It." He has to go to the movies—or worse, to some of the low-class theaters where one's dirt isn't too conspicuous.

Lastly, if the man who knows values doesn't reach down to those who do not know then who in the name of heaven will?

Madison, Wisconsin, January 8 GLENN A. DUNCAN

The Higher Cost of Justice

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In my article on The High Cost of Justice in your issue of February 22 I said, "The Sacco-Vanzetti case, still pending, has cost $60,000 to date." This was true at the time I wrote the article. But in the period that has elapsed the total has swelled to about $90,000. Legal service and investigators' bills, due from the time of the trial but unpaid because of financial stringency, have been settled in this time, and new expenditures made.

Boston, February 18 EUGENE LYONS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Roving Critic

DOCUMENTS increase around the great and mysterious figure of Whitman, but they add little to his greatness and take away little from his mystery. The two sumptuous volumes called "The Gathering of the Forces" (Putnam), edited by Cleveland Rodgers and John Black, contain after all only ephemeral material which Whitman wrote for the Brooklyn *Daily Eagle* during his editorship in 1846-47 and which, though important because by him, would be less important if it were by any one else. And it might have been by almost any one else. Generally sensible, occasionally rather noble, now and then eloquent, often symptomatic of the prophet who was to come, these editorials and essays and book reviews are most of the time perfunctory and commonplace. Here Whitman loses himself in trivial political rows, echoes conventional opinions, scrambles up to a few peaks of originality with obvious effort. The demands of his occupation perhaps account for this; and yet at that very period he was beginning to undergo the spiritual upheaval which seems to have taken place in him during 1847-48 and out of which he emerged with his loins girded for the mighty race. Something of the nature of that upheaval appears in the manuscript notebooks lately published for the first time in "The Uncollected Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman" (Doubleday, Page: 2 vols.), edited and annotated with admirable erudition by Emory Holloway. What Whitman wrote for the *Daily Eagle* came, one may say, from the top of his head; in his notebooks he set down the record of dim perturbations going on in his very spirit, his very tissue.

The moment when Whitman found his wings and dared them is the most interesting moment in his entire career. There the mystery of the poet centers. He who had once screamed with the spread-eagle now proposed to "sky-lark with God." His excursion to New Orleans and back in 1848 does not sufficiently explain his awakening, much as it stirred him to wonder at the body of his land; neither does the troubled love which may then have entered his life and have shaken him out of his established routines. Some change was taking place in him, some annunciation, which roused the man into the seer. What are the actual causes and processes of that change no one knows how to explain. It may be God, it may be glands; it is the deep, unseen, incomprehensible behavior of genius.

I am habitually at a loss to know why so few critics of Whitman have paid due attention to what he himself reveals in his poems concerning the crucial moments in his growth. Is it because he dramatizes those moments with such fierce intensity that the biography in them is neglected? He is unmistakably explicit in his account of the experience reported in the fifth section of the Song of Myself, of his experience with what he called his Soul:

"I mind how once we lay, such a transparent summer morning;
How you settled your head athwart my hips, and gently turn'd over upon me,
And parted the shirt from my bosom-bone, and plunged your tongue to my bare-stript heart,
And reach'd till you felt my beard, and reach'd till you held my feet.

Swiftly arose and spread around me the peace and knowledge that pass all the argument of the earth;
And I know that the hand of God is the promise of my own,
And I know that the spirit of God is the brother of my own;
And that all the men ever born are also my brothers, and the women my sisters and lovers."

Yet this mystical experience, which has been often noted, is in no respect more illuminating than the poetical experience of which Whitman tells quite as explicitly in Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking. In that supreme song of separation he not only gives voice to bereavement in the guise of a bird's wailing for its lost mate by the sea-shore: he also records the sudden genesis of his consciousness that he was a poet, "the outsetting bard of love."

"Demon or bird! (said the boy's soul,)
Is it indeed toward your mate you sing? or is it mostly to me?
For I, that was a child, my tongue's use sleeping,
Now I have heard you,
Now in a moment I know what I am for—I awake,
And already a thousand singers—a thousand songs, clearer, louder, and more sorrowful than yours,
A thousand warbling echoes have started to life within me,
Never to die."

Awakened to his function, however, and vowed to be the singer of death, Whitman had yet to find a mode of utterance. He would not find it among traditional modes because he was wedded to the conception of a new democratic aesthetic; he could not respond to current rhythms because he was too stoutly original. What happened he makes clear enough in Proud Music of the Storm. The poet lies in his "lonesome slumber-chamber" haunted by the rhythms of life:

"Blast that careers so free, whistling across the prairies!
Strong hum of forest tree-tops! Wind of the mountains!
Personified dim shapes! you hidden orchestras!
You serenades of phantoms, with instruments alert,
Blending, with Nature's rhythmus, all the tongues of nations."

Thither come to him the strophes of love, of martial enterprises, of folk-dances, of the hymns of religions, till he is so shaken that

"Give me to hold all sounds, (I, madly struggling, cry,)
Fill me with all the voices of the universe,
Endow me with their throbbings—Nature's also,
The tempests, waters, winds—operas and chants—marches and dances,
Utter—pour in—for I would take them all.

Then I awoke softly,
And pausing, questioning awhile the music of my dream,
And questioning all those reminiscences—the tempest in its fury,
And all the songs of sopranos and tenors,
And those rapt oriental dances, of religious fervor,
And the sweet varied instruments, and the diapason of organs,
And all the artless plaints of love, and grief and death,
I said to my silent, curious Soul, out of the bed of the slumber-chamber,
Come, for I have found the clue I sought so long,
Let us go forth refresh'd amid the day,
Cheerfully tallying life, walking the world, the real,
Nourish'd henceforth by our celestial dream.

And I said, moreover,
Haply, what thou hast heard, O Soul, was not the sound of winds,
Nor dream of raging storm, nor sea-hawk's flapping wings, nor harsh screams,
Nor vocalism of sun-bright Italy,
Nor German organ majestic—nor vast concourse of voices—nor layers of harmonies;
Nor strophes of husbands and wives—nor sound of marching soldiers,
Nor flutes, nor harps, nor the bugle-call of camps;
But, to a new rhythmus fitted for thee,
Poems, bridging the way from Life to Death, vaguely wafted in night air, uncaught, unwritten,
Which, let us go forth in the bold day, and write."

There was never a bolder conclusion to a poem in the world.

CARL VAN DOREN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books

Hot Lovers and Hot Haters

Washington and the Riddle of Peace. By H. G. Wells. The Macmillan Company. $3.50.

THE New York *World* undoubtedly made a clever stroke in journalism when it engaged Mr. Wells to report the Washington Conference. Perhaps no modern writer is able to reach such a large and miscellaneous public. He arrests the attention of the Philistine, entertains the Liberal, and by sheer irritation of the ear forces the Radical to listen. It is probably true, as Mr. G. B. Shaw remarked, that anyone with a little knowledge of modern imperialism and diplomacy could have reported the Conference as well from London as from Washington, but then all people are not as happy in their own homes as Mr. Shaw is in his. Moreover Mr. Wells is a good traveler and he combines a high missionary tension with a zeal for impressive and successful literary enterprises.

As we all expected, Mr. Wells preached a good deal from day to day, and much of his preaching is sound and wholesome. Like all humane men and women, he is pained beyond measure at the waste, folly, and misery of modern wars. He frankly says that he is not so much disturbed by the thought of the death and destruction wrought by war as by the waste and stupidity of it—the potential powers for great and noble work blasted by it. He refuses to be frightened by Mr. Irwin and his Next War. He is enamored of the good life, the splendid life, the life in which all fine creative energies are used for high ends. Hence he is disgusted with war just as one is disgusted with any loathesome scene.

In the course of his discursive reflections on many things, Mr. Wells is occasionally very emphatic. He thinks it a bit absurd for a grand international conference to attempt to settle the world's estate without hearing from the Germans and the Russians. He points out that there are quite a few of them in the world and that the latter at least really have vital interests in the Far East. He gently suggests that Russian contributions to science, literature, and music will compare favorably with those of the United States. Mr. Wells is equally emphatic in dwelling upon the economics of the peace business —assuming that it is more than a gesture. "If there is to be a real end to war and disarmament there has to be release of China to free Chinese control and that means a self-denying ordinance from all the great Powers." But strange to say he adds that this would be "easy" for the United States. Mr. Wells is also in a serious mood when he discourses on propaganda, a modern game more deadly than gas and submarine warfare. With a more than serious air he assures us that war between the United States and Great Britain is impossible. "The British people have been sleeping happily upon the belief that war with America is impossible. And for them it is impossible." This would be very reassuring, if peoples as such had any part in creating imperial friction points, playing the diplomatic game, and launching campaigns for open doors, equal rights, commercial freedom, and all the rest of it. In fact, Mr. Wells is very innocent in many things. For instance, he is deficient in historical knowledge, English as well as French.

On this account he is unduly harsh in dealing with the French. He has the astounding courage to claim that it was "for France" that "the British Empire lost a million dead." We thought at our last reckoning that it was "for Belgium." Mr. Wells even goes on to say that after England, Russia, Italy, and America came to the rescue of France. This is probably as correct as the statement of Colonel Gautier that France lost 1,500,000 men and her soil was ravaged "to assure British supremacy on the sea." At all events Mr. Wells speaks of M. Briand's discourse "that insultingly ignored Great Britain." He complains that none of the spirit of Anatole France came to the Washington Conference, "but only an impenitent apologist for three years of sin against the peace of the world, an apologist for national aggression posturing as fear and reckless greed disguised as discretion."

He bids us look with sorrow and horror on the wicked France that disturbed the happy family just when England and the United States, forgetting problems of national defense and trade, sat down to make love before the world. Now, is this quite fair? Great Britain, like all other nations, must look to defense and trade. She gave up absolutely nothing at the Peace Conference. She knew that by 1926 at least the United States would surpass her on the sea and she accepted with a magnanimous gesture equality with America. The United States, having fearful warnings of impending troubles in the East, sought to dissolve the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and received more than a *quid pro quo* for the surrender of her potential sea-power supremacy. All of which was very good.

Now as to France. Mr. Wells is indignant that France should want submarines to defend her coasts against England. That was the criminal insult that M. Briand committed in Washington. If Mr. Wells will read Mahan on the sea power and review again the history of two hundred years of warfare between England and France for supremacy in Asia, Africa, and the New World, he will recover his balance. Mr. Wells is not a professed student of history, but he is a man of some years and possesses a memory. Surely it runs back as far as 1898. That year found the present reviewer settled down in England and taking his first general course in the constant reading of English newspapers. That was the year of the Fashoda affair. France and England were on the verge of war over a clash in Africa. At the very beginning of the argument, England's Mediterranean squadron took up its position between Malta and Gibraltar, ready to blockade and bombard Toulon and to protect the landing at Bizerta of troops that were all ready for action. At the same time her Channel squadron steamed down to take up its position before Gibraltar to prevent the union of the French squadrons of the North and South. The English newspapers of the right were filled with abuse of the "insolent" French with their "insolent" pretensions in Africa. The Northcliffe (Harmsworth) press could hardly find words harsh enough for the occasion. In 1899 a Harmsworth editor wrote: "The French have succeeded in persuading John Bull that they are his inveterate enemies. England has long hesitated between France and Germany, but she has always respected German character while she has come to have contempt for France. A cordial understanding cannot exist between England and her nearest neighbor. We have had enough of France; she has neither courage nor political sense." But the German specter was on the horizon and the Fashoda affair was settled diplomatically.

If Mr. Wells will read ten selected books by informed French writers on the history of Anglo-French imperial wars from the age of Louis XIV to the age of Bonaparte, on the history of Anglo-French diplomacy for five hundred years, on the rivalry of the two countries in the economic sphere—if he will honestly try to put himself in the position of any Frenchman as solicitous for national defense and national economic strength as he is, himself, he will discover why France wants "safeguards" and pursues "vigorous foreign policies." Let him glance through a very bitter book by Colonel Gautier, just from the press ("L'Angleterre et Nous"), and he will see why France does not join without reservations in his specially prepared love feast.

Now this is not defense of France. Neither is it any criticism of England. Those persons who set out to love one country and those who set out to hate another are equally unfitted for correct and informed thinking in matters international. Moreover, they are usually found shifting their affections with the currents of affairs. They are hot lovers one day and hot haters the next, and in deadly peril of becoming a nuisance all the time. It is the man who gets religion the hardest who backslides the hardest. Especially is this loving and hating

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

business dangerous to the intelligent pursuit of our own national interests.

It is therefore unfortunate that Mr. Wells should have marred his many pages of wisdom and suggestive comment by rather savage attacks upon the motives of France. Nobody knows when the next war for liberty and democracy will have to be fought, and the fewer angry things we say about any one of our neighbors the better for all, and for that great cause—international cooperation. It is one thing to assail M. Poincaré; it is another thing to indict a nation.

CHARLES A. BEARD

Platonism to the Rescue

The Religion of Plato. By Paul Elmer More. Princeton University Press. $2.50.

IT becomes even more evident in this second volume of his projected series of four studies on "The Greek Tradition" that Mr. More regards Platonism as the characteristic expression of the Hellenic spirit and advocates the Christian tradition based upon it as the gospel by which alone the world today may be saved from gross materialism. Plato's religion is treated with ardor and with that fulness of insight which only the combination of sympathy with intellectual acumen and painstaking scholarship can give. The essence of Plato's religion, as Mr. More views it, is found in the effort to transcend the dualism of man's nature by uniting him with the divine, and to view the world and its processes "sub specie aeternitatis."

There is a vast pathos in this spectacle of the human being, cast up by the flotsam and jetsam of the cosmic urge, setting about the task of making friends with the heedless universe, seeking for and asserting a fundamental kinship between it and him, however often his overtures may be met by an unrecognizing stare or a flat denial. Platonism probably is the most heroic and most persistent of all efforts at cosmic fellowship, as is evidenced by the survival of the Platonic tradition through all of the spiritual cataclysms of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance and its continuance as a living force up to the present time. We may not agree with Mr. More in regarding the tradition as the essential faith which thus far has saved and alone will save this grossly flippant and materialistic age, but we cannot question the vital relation between the Platonic and the medieval Christian tradition as interpreted by him. The mythological accessories of the two differ and vary from age to age. But both have as their primary root the passion for the eternal which, they hold, lies beyond this changing world and alone can give it significance. Both distrust the natural and feel that the forces by which it must be controlled are essentially alien and are derived from a changeless ideal world.

In its early historic expressions this point of view has dignity. One cannot withhold admiration from the magnificent arrogance of the gesture with which a Plato or a Parmenides or a St. Augustine raises his hand before the irresistible onward movement of life and says: "Here shall thy proud waves be stayed." But the untimely effort of men like Mr. More to make such a paralyzing dualism effective in the modern world reminds one of nothing so much as of the priests who in volcanic eruptions set sacred images from the churches before oncoming floods of lava to stay their flow.

Platonism was inevitable in its own generation. If neither Plato nor Socrates had lived, an idealistic philosophy of essentially the same type would have been born, though, perhaps, not in so eloquent or beautiful an embodiment. For the need of the human spirit which begot Platonism was as deep as that which begets ancestor worship or imitative magic among primitive peoples. Ancient idealism was a protective armor, a shelter built to defend men from the storms and vicissitudes of rapidly changing conditions of life. Mr. More invites the adventurous youth of our scientific age to take refuge with him in the venerable and majestic ruins of this philosophic temple, to temper their passionate ardors and eager impulses by its principles of control, and to seek in this retreat a peace and a beauty that will not die.

This invitation has in it an appeal that, like the lure of the lotus and the siren, seems well-nigh irresistible to some who have wandered long and homeless in strange lands. But for the modern world it is the lure of death, not of life, of fear, not of courage, as is evidenced by the spiritual anemia which almost invariably appears in Plato's most devoted disciples, though not in him.

It was richly worth while to separate from the body of Plato's work the portions which deal definitely with the religious aspect of his thought, and to present them in felicitous translation—more than one-fourth of Mr. More's work is devoted to direct quotations from Plato—supplemented by illuminating comment on the meaning of the text. It will also be worth while to trace, in the competent way foreshadowed in the present volume, the later history of the Platonic tradition, with its varied and intricate relations to Christian thought.

But as a piece of historic interpretation of Plato himself Mr. More's entire method and procedure seem to the reviewer so faulty as to make detailed discussion of specific points of agreement or disagreement valueless. For the accurate scholarship and wealth of learning of the author are made ineffective by the constant intrusion of his propagandist purpose to strengthen the Platonic element in the Christian tradition, losing which "so far as I can see, we are in peril of sinking back into barbarism." Moreover, to identify "The Greek Tradition" with Platonism is particularly unfortunate when the emphasis is placed upon the religious and metaphysical aspects of Plato's thought rather than upon his vastly more valuable political, ethical, and educational ideas. It is true that accidents of history led to the assimilation of Plato's metaphysics by Christianity, and the consequent over-emphasis of it in subsequent thought, but Hellenism has profoundly influenced the modern world through other and more significant channels. Finally, no serious attempt is made by Mr. More to define or interpret Plato's relation to his own day. He is treated as if he had sprung, like Athena, full grown from the head of Zeus, and had been set down in an alien world to save it from destruction, by enunciating a message which, in essentially unchanged form, should be "valid for all time."

CLARA M. SMERTENKO

Tongues of Men

Language. An Introduction to the Study of Speech. By Edward Sapir. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.

THIS book of Mr. Sapir's distinguishes itself from other general treatments of the problems of linguistics by its power to stimulate thought about the subject. There is nothing trite or matter-of-fact between its covers. The discussions spring from an unusually wide acquaintance with language in all its varieties and a scholarly understanding of the principles of psychology underlying expression. But more than by its learning the book impresses us by its quick insight and acute analysis. A capital illustration is the treatment of the problem of classifying languages. Recognizing, as other students have done, the unsatisfactoriness of distinguishing languages as isolating, agglutinative, inflectional, and incorporating, Mr. Sapir suggests and ingeniously works out a scheme which takes into account the particular character with reference to which classification is desired. The traditional terms, for example, do not provide a consistent criterion for distinguishing between languages on the basis of their typical method of expressing root ideas, which is done in Chinese without the admixture of any idea of the relation of the word to other words in the sentence, while in most languages the root idea is combined in varying degrees of closeness with other elements having grammatical import. Making this his fundamental test, Mr. Sapir then

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

adopts as secondary criteria the degrees of fusion between the radical and relational elements of words, and the degrees of synthesis in the sentence. The result is a somewhat elaborate yet fairly flexible system which has the merit of elucidating the points of similarity between languages which are customarily put into widely separate categories.

There is also a great deal that is suggestive in what the writer has to say about the processes involved in phonetic change. Especially noteworthy in this connection is the emphasis he places on what he calls "patterning." Students of language are aware that the speech-sounds of a people tend to run into a certain habitual groove, so that whatever the change which particular sounds undergo, the general "system of sounds" remains pretty constant. Mr. Sapir is not content to view this as a simple physiological phenomenon but regards it as a strictly psychological process, the result of an unconscious pressure determining the direction of sound change in accordance with the phonetic "genius" of the language. The application of this principle to the facts of Grimm's Law has a winning plausibility, but the point itself is indicative of a leaning to oversubtlety in tracing the causes of linguistic phenomena. It assumes an almost mystic savor in the suggestion that morphology may have an influence on sound change. At least the argument that the change of vowel in *foot—feet* was assisted by an obscure sense of its functional utility seems quite unnecessary in accounting for the result.

Closely related to patterning is the discussion of "drift," the idea that changes in language are not random but move in a definite direction. The notion is very happily used to explain parallel developments occurring in languages long after they have been separated. The extended vowel-mutation, for example, which took place early in Old English, did not begin to develop till several centuries later in Old High German. Perhaps Mr. Sapir sees too much inevitableness in the power of this drift. In the realm of phonetic change it leads him to espouse the principle of regularity, the belief that when a tendency has once declared itself it is bound ultimately to win through to complete consistency. In the plain sense in which this is asserted it is contradicted by the facts of English linguistic history. The distinctly different vowel sounds in *blood, good,* and *mood* have all grown out of the same long *o* of Old English and under precisely identical conditions. We have apparently to assume the possibility in a language of a number of divergent drifts affecting the same sound. If we follow the highly instructive analysis recently made by Professor Wyld in his study of colloquial English, we recognize the importance of what he calls "social dialects" in developing such differences. To take their existence as evidence of the shift being still in process and to suppose that in time the vowel of *mood,* let us say, will fall together with that of *blood,* is to enter the domain of prophecy, which is not really the proper ground of the student of language. The liberty of prophesying is in respect to syntax even more dangerous than in phonology. It may well be, as Mr. Sapir elaborately argues, that the form *whom* is destined to disappear from English, yet its survival in spite of the forces working against it is not inconceivable. At any rate, writing scientifically, he ought not to display such rancor against the word merely because it is cherished as a mark of distinction by the educated; perhaps he will only cause them to cling to it the more ardently and thereby thwart the fulfilment of his own prediction. After all, the schoolmaster has managed to interfere to some purpose with the normal processes of linguistic change. The multitudes of "learned" pronunciations and spellings bear witness to his influence.

Often Mr. Sapir raises questions which he does not undertake to answer. Why, he asks, do some languages, like English, show greater susceptibility than others to foreign words? We are inclined to feel that he is not quite fair to students of English when he accuses them of treating the borrowings of the language too mechanically. Has not Professor Jespersen hinted at a subtle relationship between the importation of French words and the well-known "snobism" of the British character? To our view the mere external fact, amply recognized by former students, of a practically bilingual condition lasting over centuries has seemed adequate to explain the development of a disposition in speakers of English to borrow Romance words. Mr. Sapir, however, thinks that the explanation must in part at least be sought in the psychological attitude of the borrowing language. This is but another instance of the provocative observations by which he affords us occasionally an opportunity to disagree with him and so imparts a keener relish to our reading—always without prejudice to scholarly soundness in the general treatment of principles. A gratifying feature, not usual in books of this class, is a chapter showing the dependence of literary style on the phonetic and formal characteristics of a language. It is well to signalize the points at which students of literature can join hands with students of linguistics.

JACOB ZEITLIN

Woman Freed

You. By Magdeleine Marx. Thomas Seltzer. $2.
Topless Towers. By Margaret Ashmun. The Macmillan Company. $2.
The Glorious Hope. By Jane Burr. Thomas Seltzer. $2.
Joanna Godden. By Sheila Kaye-Smith. E. P. Dutton and Company. $2.

EVER since it became generally acknowledged that the cosmic oyster was not for man alone, the female Hotspurs, Quixotes, and Sanchos have sallied forth in incredible numbers, each resolved to open it according to her chosen technique. Four women have told here the story of such an expedition and all four have described, for the most part unconsciously, a phase of the illusion that a mere change of manners can make women free; and it is Anne, the hero of Magdeleine Marx's "You," who makes the most frantic gestures of freedom, but who is nevertheless the most hopelessly entangled in the web of her womanliness. Anne in the world of radical Paris, Martina among the topless towers of Morningside, Evelyn in artistic Bohemia, and Joanna amid the Kentish marshes—all fight their crucial battle not with "man-made laws" but with themselves, and in every case except that of Joanna heroine and author go down in defeat before woman's inclination toward the passive role, toward the finding of her ultimate justification not in herself but in the man who possesses her, toward having her oysters opened by another's sword. Whatever the successes or failures of these heroines, they long to succumb. "What she wanted of life was the big constructive thing, the big love," says one; "It is wonderful," says another, "to feel that one is loved"; and "I think," says the third, "that we want some one who is bigger than we are, wiser, more experienced, more generous, more understanding." The reader may be safely defied to assign these speeches to their origins, for the wild women of Paris and of Washington Square, and the tame one of Morningside Heights, speak in accents of distressing similarity.

If by a "novel" we understand an objectification and criticism of life, then "You" is not a novel at all, for it is neither objective nor critical. There is very little either of setting, action, or character save by implication, and almost the whole is the long hysterical wail of the heroine who is frustrated without knowing why. As a work of art it is almost negligible, but as a document it is valuable because in it Magdeleine Marx manages to reveal what she herself does not know. She betrays the whole cause for which she is fighting, since she shows her new woman in the world of men, tortured almost into madness by nothing stranger than an unnatural intensification of that craving for the boundless admiration of some perfect cavalier which disturbs the imagination of schoolgirls. Anne Breven, we are told, writes for a radical newspaper, but her most striking characteristic seems to be an infinite capacity for being loved. Lovers come and lovers go, but she wishes always for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the perfect love and gnashes her teeth at the obscure imperfection of her lovers. Her soul is a sort of vast amoeba, striving always to ingulf and absorb the men about her, and becoming enraged when she sees them continuing to function in everyday life instead of being dissolved in her vast desire. Without knowing it, Magdeleine Marx has prostrated herself in admiration before woman's greatest weakness—her capacity to absorb; and when in the end Anne, still unsatisfied, addresses the world thus: "I am going to love—not any person, not those I have or that I am going to love, but you, regulated pulse of the universe—you who are here, who will continue after me, God—God," she is but extending her arms toward a vast lover and aching to be mistress to the universe. She has made as definite a surrender to sex as any heroine of sentimental romance who ever left a "career" for the vine-covered cottage.

Sheila Kaye-Smith towers above her sister novelists here discussed because she alone sees with clearness the true forces with which her heroine joins battle and realizes that it is not from law or custom that she must be free, but from herself. The vision of Magdeleine Marx is distorted by her character's own hysteria, that of Jane Burr by the fact that she looks at life through the medium of rather conventional fiction, and Margaret Ashmun by a touch of incurable old-maidishness which is desperately afraid to peep into reality. But Sheila Kaye-Smith has in her book reached full maturity as a novelist and has both the sympathy to understand and the detachment to see clearly.

The primitive simplicity of her characters enables her to strip the soul pretty bare, yet though she is far from any pastoral sentimentalism she has succeeded in creating in Joanna Godden an intensely real character of simple but heroic proportions. To Joanna it is the practice rather than the theory of woman's rights that is important; and hence, though ignorantly scornful of the vote, she runs her farm to suit herself in spite of the prevailing opinion of her community that it is a man's job and in spite, also, of the oft-repeated judgment of the village inn that "She's a mare that's never been praäperly broke in, and she wants a strong man to do it." Yet her creator has no illusions as to the completeness of Joanna's freedom nor as to the ease with which it is gained. Joanna as much as the rest feels the impulse to rest in a man's arms no matter how unworthy those arms may be, and she, too, finds it difficult to distinguish between custom and morality so that she can say scornfully to her younger sister: "I was brought up to be the shape of a woman in proper stays, and not the shape of a heathen statue." But in the essential things—in self-reliance and fortitude—she is a thousand times more free than Anne gesticulating freedom but hysterically parasitic.

J. W. Krutch

Music

Marking the Miles

THERE are times, it seems, when jazz may be regarded as a virtue. Such, perhaps, as when some patriotic composer, content to sound its rhythmic possibilities rather than its capacity for noise, humanely modifies it from a national nuisance to a national characteristic. These instances, of course, are rare. But when, in addition, the composer happens to be a John Alden Carpenter, who turns its noisy commentaries into philosophic reflections, and its shuffling rhythms into the exalted intricacies of the ballet, then the very isolation of its position gives it a certain national significance. Thus the first of the Concerts Internationaux de la Libre Esthétique, which introduced Mr. Carpenter's Jazz Pantomime, "Krazy Kat," took on somewhat of the nature of an historic occasion. As its name implies, the ballet was inspired by George Herriman's famous creation, Krazy Kat, who, according to Mr. Carpenter, is "the world's greatest optimist—Don Quixote and Parsifal rolled into one." And the scenario, written by the cartoonist himself, deals with the adventures of this hero with the "cat complex," and his moral antithesis, Ignatz Mouse. The result has been a work broadly popular in its basic elements, aristocratic in its artistic demands, and, at the same time, so consistently American in its viewpoint that neither Adolph Bolm, who staged and danced it, nor George Barrère, who led it, succeeded in reproducing its peculiarly native flavor. Their failure was due to no lack of artistry, but merely to the fact that one was a Russian and the other a Frenchman. And there was a certain thrill, a certain sense of emancipation in the realization that here at last was a representative work by a representative musician that was neither sectional nor racial in its inspirational sources, yet so purely American that it required a strong national consciousness on the part of its interpreters.

Because of this, it may serve as a guide post in our quest for "the great American composer"; for although, musically, it does not equal much that Mr. Carpenter and other of his compatriots have written in this form, aesthetically it points the way to that spiritual independence without which we can not have artistic liberation. How much we have already accomplished can not be accurately gauged. It is an age of no great, outstanding musical genius, but rather of feverish activity and ruthless experimentation, and just which nation will bring forth the next standard-bearer is still beyond prediction. For this reason we have need of such organizations as the Concerts Internationaux and the still newer International Composers' Guild, Inc. The former, founded by the charmingly gifted composer and pianist Poldowski (Lady Dean Paul), has been giving, with the aid of George Barrère and his Little Symphony, a number of interesting works in the modern idiom; the latter, judging by its prospectus, promises an even wider variety.

Various critical methods of extermination have been tried, of course, and a most ingenious one was used recently by Ernest Newman, of the Manchester *Guardian*, who suggested that "if any rich lover of music wants to do the art a real service, he might contribute £50 or so to every big orchestral concert in the country on condition that the program contained at least one modern work of this type." In his way, Mr. Newman claims, by letting it be heard "two or three times," "it would be put in its proper place in the scheme of things," and shown to belong to the past rather than to the future; and adds that "the music of today is for the most part that of second- and third-rate minds," in which last category he puts the Strawinsky and Schoenberg of today, Malipiero, Casella, Honegger, Poulenc, Milhaud, Ornstein, and Prokofieff. These men, he continues, "are richer in negative than in positive qualities, and know quite well what they do not want to do; they do not want to be romantic, or to write like a German, or to develop their musical texture on the ordinary lines."

Unfortunately, in sharpening his wit on his prejudices, Mr. Newman ceases to enlighten. Just why, for instance, these composers should want to be "romantic," or to "develop their musical texture on the ordinary lines," he fails to explain. Or why, too, being for the most part Italian, French, and Russian, they should want to write like a German, any more than a German should want to write like them. As a matter of fact, Schoenberg is a German, writing like no one but himself, and influencing most of Europe in the process. To which particular German, then, does Mr. Newman refer? Moreover, he further assumes that "two or three" performances of a new work will be sufficient to reveal its mediocrity; yet experience has taught us that in spite of the fact that symphonic programs have been featuring for years certain so-called classics of second- and third-rate quality, their inner deficiencies are still to be generally recognized.

And so it is difficult to believe that all of the composers whom Mr. Newman mentioned have merely been leading us away from the high road of musical development into blind by-paths of meaningless cacophany. His analysis is too sweeping in its conclusion, and smacks too strongly of the pedant. After all,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Surely the most beautiful piece of literature produced in or about this continent for at least a generation."—N. Y. Evening Post.

MARIA CHAPDELAINE

By Louis Hémon

"I urge MARIA CHAPDELAINE upon our writers of fiction as the most encouraging phenomenon of their time. A piece of truly classic work." *Albert Jay Nock in The Freeman.*

"A tale of great delicacy and great simplicity."—*Literary Digest.*

"An exquisite story with a perfect technique."—*N. Y. Evening Post.*

"A masterpiece of language and literature."—*Independent.*

"MARIA CHAPDELAINE is pure gold."—*N. Y. Globe.*

"Undoubtedly a classic."—*Chicago Evening Post.*

"It is beautiful, it is sublime; a pastoral as exquisite as any poet ever penned."—*Rochester Democrat and Chronicle.*

"The book is like music, saying as music does, things that do often lie too deep for tears."—*Dorothy Canfield Fisher in N. Y. Evening Post.*

"A book of splendid and conquering simplicity."—*N. Y. World.*

"A thing of rare beauty. A great little book, real literature."—*Boston Herald.*

Price, $2.00

THE FRIENDLY ARCTIC

By Vilhjalmur Stefansson

"Stefansson's work, taken as a whole, is one of the most notable intellectual achievements of our times, because he has demonstrated in the most thorough way possible the significance of the scientific method in the conduct of human affairs under the most difficult conditions of environment. Many people talk about the fact that science and the scientific method of thought should be of great value in helping people to meet the affairs of life successfully. Stefansson has demonstrated on a large scale that in fact such faith is abundantly justified. He stands unique, it seems to me, in the thorough-going application of scientific methods of thought and action to the problems of Polar exploration."—*Raymond Pearl, Johns Hopkins University.*

"We see the Arctic through Stefansson's eyes, no longer tragic and desolate, but converted by his adaptable spirit and clever creative hand to become fruitful and friendly—comfortable and almost jolly."—*Gilbert Grosvenor, President National Geographic Society.*

"Stefansson's narrative is adventure supreme. For anyone who has a taste for tales of adventure this is the book. No imaginary romance ever written contains so many or such extraordinary adventurers. When there are real deeds like these to be read about how is it possible to care for the inventions? Stefansson's entire expedition was a great adventure and it turned out to be a day-by-day mosaic of adventure."—*San Francisco Chronicle.*

784 pages, 140 photographs, 9 maps

Price, $6.00

MY LIFE WITH THE ESKIMO

By Vilhjalmur Stefansson

The enthralling story of Vilhjalmur Stefansson's Arctic journey over one thousand miles of ice, and his discovery of the new race, the blonde Eskimo. Stefansson's splendid volume is a mine of interesting observation for different branches of science.

Ill., $6.50

At all bookstores or from

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, 64-66 Fifth Ave., New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a work of art must first be felt before it can be distilled through the brain. The true decision, then, rests perhaps with Vienna, that city of old traditions and high artistry. There, while the rest of the world has been ridiculing, they have been trying to understand. Solely for this purpose they have organized a society which has been meeting once a week for several years. The members do not attend for social purposes, for paying homage to any one composer, or for indulging any feeling of nationalism. Their clothes are shabby, their bodies undernourished. Yet they not only pay annual dues but buy the score of the new work to be presented, pocket editions of which are for sale before the meeting. When the performance is over, they neither laugh nor hiss nor applaud. They are there to learn, not to judge, and the guiding spirit of all is Arnold Schoenberg.

HENRIETTA STRAUS

Drama

Spearmint

JEWELS are nothing to the electric signs on Broadway. They make the emeralds and rubies of the Arabian Nights seem dim and sickly. Most dream-like in its splendor is a sign beside the Hotel Astor. Peacocks are represented in it, peacocks more marvelous than ever spread or drooped their plumage in a maharajah's garden. What is the meaning of that sign? What does it offer? Forgetfulness or rapture, beauty or peace, delight or pain? It is an advertisement of chewing-gum. . . .

The theater crowds surge. At the last moment they stand at Tyson's and chaffer shrilly over seats. You get faint whiffs of violets and lilies of the valley and catch glimpses of innumerable golden slippers. It is with difficulty that you make your way. Is everyone here? Is it a carnival? Is it a reckless or majestic festival? What do these thousands seek? Somewhere, prudently hidden by top-hat or silver snood, there must be vine-leaves in the well-smoothed hair. Not one. These people are looking for a good show; they want a good time. . . .

This atmosphere is not one of temperateness. That flattering unction had better not be discussed. To be temperate there must be something that has been tempered. You may speak of taming a lion; it is senseless to speak of taming a sheep. The crowds see the chewing-gum sign and see neither discrepancy nor irony in it. Peacocks . . . Dusky limbs under the tamarinds in the king's garden. . . . On the wind comes the scent of almond blooms. . . . Nonsense! It's Wrigley's spearmint. Chewing-gum. A nickel a package.

First-night audiences applaud rather generously. The scenic artist's friends applaud the sets; each actor's or actress's friends applaud when the mime in question first steps upon the stage; the author—if the play is a native one—is called out for a speech at the appropriate moment, wholly irrespective of the quality of the piece. It is all good nature, neither enthusiasm nor homage. At the beginning of the last fourth of the last act people scramble for their wraps. The lady next to you whispers fiercely: "My Gawd, where's my other glove!" When their wraps are found and adjusted, they stand in the aisles and applaud a little more. When they're comfortable they're very good-natured.

Regular audiences applaud very little. An admirable actor of foreign origin said to me: "It is torment and loss to play the same part a hundred times. Still, since the house is sold out six weeks ahead, the play must give people pleasure. Then why, why is every night a new agony of frost?" The answer was obvious: "You must dismiss the notions of both frost and fire, disgust and rapture. They don't hiss either, as you know. There are no contested premières." "That's not human nature as I know it," he answered wearily. "Nor entirely as it really is even here," I said; "a good deal of it is mimicry in the service of a bad tradition. But since that tradition belongs to the caste that has always ruled America socially and since most men are both cowards and snobs, even the Latins and the Levantines in the audiences are tepid. They want or their wives want, above all, to be ladies and gentlemen. What people need is the courage to let themselves be called vulgar and say: 'What of it?' That would take very nearly a race of heroes or —monks."

All this, you say, is harmless enough; it is not important. That is a grave error. Tragedy lives partly by the spiritual tension it arouses, comedy by the laughter it evokes. The audience must share a mood. There would be no theater were that unity of mood not achieved. But on the depth and intensity of that mood depends, to a large extent, the depth and intensity of the artistic experience which the stage can offer. No individual can withdraw himself wholly from these fundamental conditions. I reflect on the season which has now passed its height. There have been plays enough that the critical intelligence could more or less unreservedly approve. In almost each instance the aesthetic experience has fallen below the level of the critical judgment. The peacocks have become fatally associated with chewing-gum. . . .

The entire condition is mitigated most when the play is a humorous play of American life with a solid basis in observation. Our audiences are not unwilling to become absorbed in a representation of their lives when the representation touches caricature and no fundamental taboos are questioned. An uncommonly sound and amusing little play of this order is "To the Ladies" (Liberty Theater) by George S. Kaufman and Marc Connelly. The young clerk and his menage are not only quite brilliantly observed; both are dramatically recorded with vivid irony, an irony that one constantly suspects of going much deeper than the authors quite dared admit. As it is, the fatuous clerk's fawning subservience to his master touches points that would be bitter if the authors had not married him to an astute yet shallow little female and ended the play on one of those standing American jokes which are a defense-complex against an outrage upon nature that the consciousness dare not entertain. By all these means the authors gain a vivid assent of mood which is rare and refreshing. Some day one or both of them will write a play which it will take years and agonies to get produced at all. In that play the promise of "Dulcy" and "To the Ladies" will be fulfilled. But in it the varnish will have been omitted from the truth.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

A Shaw Festival
BACK TO METHUSELAH
In Three Productions
NOW
Prices for the cycle of three performances
Evenings: Orchestra, $9.90, 1st Balcony, $8.25, $6.60, $4.95, and $3.30
GARRICK THEATRE 65 WEST 35th STREET

HARRY W. L. DANA
will give 3 lectures on
BERNARD SHAW'S BACK TO METHUSELAH
March 4, 11 and 18 at 8 P. M. Fee for course $1.25
List price of book, "Back to Methuselah"—$2.25
Special Combination Offer: course and copy of book $2.75
RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE, 7 East 15th Street, New York

"SHUFFLE ALONG"
will give a benefit performance for
The Manassas Industrial School for Colored Youth of Manassas, Va.
Sunday, March 5th, 63rd Street Music Hall
Tickets on sale at Box Office at regular prices

LIBERATOR EVENINGS
Dr. S. A. Tannenbaum on Psycho-analysis
Rosa Pringle and Zoltan Hecht on Visualized Music
The Sun Dance combined with color and sound.
Introduction by Hugo Gellert
The Arlington Hall, 23 St. Marks Place, 8th Street and Third Avenue.
Admission 50c. March 5th, 1922 8:15 P. M.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

International Relations Section

The Murder of a Race

SOME 150,000 killed, as many dead of their wounds and of epidemics, and a million more robbed, plundered, and deprived of their means of existence—such, according to conservative estimates, is the toll which the pogroms in the Ukraine and White Ruthenia have exacted from the ill-fated Jewish population of those countries. The full story of the pogroms is yet to be told. Owing to the unsettled conditions in the regions which have been affected by the pogroms no thorough investigation has been possible until recently when the task was undertaken by the Jewish Public Committee for the Relief of Pogrom Sufferers in Moscow and by the Jewish Department of the Russian Commissariat of National Minorities. Special representatives and investigators were sent to all localities where pogroms had occurred. The investigation has been conducted both with the purpose of reproducing the story of the pogroms and of determining the actual conditions as they exist at present for the sake of organizing the urgent relief work on a sound basis. The reports are still coming in, but certain results of the investigation in the form of reports and documents pertaining to the pogroms, their causes, the bandit movement and the struggle against it, and the relief needed and under way are at hand. *The Nation* obtained these documents from Mr. M. Rashkes, member of the praesidium of the All-Russian Jewish Public Committee for the Relief of Pogrom Sufferers.

The Pogroms in the Ukraine

In the Ukraine the pogroms were raging throughout the year 1919 and the first half of 1920. All the pogroms may be roughly divided into four periods:

January, 1919-April, 1919—pogroms by the Petlura troops and bands connected with them. These pogroms took place chiefly in the provinces of Kiev, Volhynia, and Podolia. The most terrible pogroms were committed in Radomisl, Zhitomir, Proskurov, Felshtyn, and some other towns.

May-June, 1919—pogroms by the rebel bands of Grigoryev, who was also connected with Petlura, in the provinces of Kherson, Ekaterinoslav, Poltava, and the southern part of Kiev (Elisavetgrad, Cherkassy, Novo-Mirgorod, Ekaterinoslav, Alexandria, and many others).

August-December, 1919—pogroms by the Denikin troops, chiefly in the provinces of Kiev, Kremenchug, Poltava, Chernigov, Kharkov, Odessa. (Kiev, Fastov, Cherkassy, Kremenchug, Niezhin, Borispol, Bela-Tzerkov, Makarov, Bobrovitzi, Elisavetgrad, and others).

April-June, 1920—pogroms during the spring drive of the Polish troops and their occupation of parts of the Ukraine. In the provinces of Volhynia, Kiev, Podolia (Zhitomir, Chernobyl, Tetiev, Vassilkov, Chapovitz, etc.).

All through these periods pogroms were perpetrated in several hundred towns by numerous bands which had overridden all of the Ukraine—the bands led by Zelony, Sokolovsky, Sheppel, Volinetz, Tiutiuniuk, Struk, etc.

Accounts of some of these pogroms are here reproduced from the voluminous résumé of reports on pogroms in the Ukraine, compiled by the information department of the Jewish Public Committee in Moscow. We have selected typical instances and retained the numbers indicating their position in the original report.

In the Province of Kiev

1. Belaya Tzerkov. The first pogrom occurred August 18, 1919. It was committed by the Petlura forces. The second pogrom was perpetrated by the Zelony bands on August 25, 1919. Two persons were killed. The third pogrom by the Petlura forces took place on August 26 and 27. One hundred and fifty-seven persons were killed. Many women were raped. A considerable part of the Jewish population was robbed. During September, 1919, a pogrom was committed by the Volunteer Army (Denikin's). Thirty persons were killed. The plunderings became chronic after that. About 3,000 persons suffered from the pogroms in the city. A great number of houses were burned.

3. Fastov. The pogrom by the Denikin forces occurred during September 22-27, 1919. Two hundred buildings were burned, 1,800 persons killed, a great number of women raped. The pogrom was marked by great brutality. In many cases the method of "suspending" the victims was employed. Among those killed were two babies of six months. Many have perished in fire among the burned houses.

14. Makarov. There were 2,000 families in the town. Of them 800 families were Jewish. The first pogrom occurred in August, 1919, and was made by the band of Mordilev. Thirty persons were killed. The whole Jewish population suffered. In September, 1919, there was a pogrom by the Denikin forces. One hundred persons were killed. Seventeen men, composing the Jewish delegation which went out to meet the Denikin troops, were all slain. During July, 1920, a pogrom was committed by the Zelony bands under the leadership of Suzerenko. . . .

21. Khodorkov. Before the pogroms there were 20,000 population in the city. Of them 10,000 were Jews. The first pogrom, by the band of Ogorodnikov, took place on June 18-19, 1919. Fourteen persons were killed. Six of them were members of the Jewish self-defense organization. In all the pogroms 1,200 persons have perished. At present there is not a single Jew left in the town.

25. Radomisl, in the province of Kiev. There were 12,000 Jews in the city. In February, 1919, a pogrom by the band of Sokolov took place. The band occupied the city during three days. There were a few killed. In March the city was again attacked by Sokolov's band. Almost all Jewish stores and homes were robbed. Thirty-three persons were killed. The third pogrom took place in April, when the plundering of the remaining Jewish houses was completed. The population fled to Brussilov, Korostishev, Malin, Makarov, and some to Kiev. The fourth pogrom was committed by the Sokolov band in May. Not a single house was missed. The bandits mercilessly killed infants and old people, men and women. The city was turned into a cemetery. The main streets became covered with grass. There were 400 killed. Of the population, 10,000 left the city.

34. Yustingrad. . . . In July, 1919, the Jewish population was attacked by the band of Zelony. The bandits led 143 Jewish men younger than thirty-five years out of the city and shot all of them with a machine-gun. Women and old men who followed the band praying for the release of the young men were thrown into the river from the bridge. In September a local band appeared under the leadership of the local peasant Keba. The band, consisting of eight men, shot twenty-four Jewish men. The rest of the Jewish population fled from the town. . . . In October, 1919, a Denikin regiment appeared, led by Prince Golitzin. The soldiers at once started to plunder, violate women, kill, and set fire to stores and dwellings. One Jew who hid under the bridge heard an officer reporting to the leader of the regiment that forty-six stores and twenty houses had already been burned down. The leader then gave orders to stop the "work" for one and one-half hours, after which the plunderings and murders were resumed. This state of affairs was continued until January, 1920. Dur-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing this time the town lost 800 persons killed, or dead from wounds, or frozen to death. The whole population fled. During the Soviet rule seventy-five families returned. In September, 1920, another pogrom took place by an unidentified band. The remaining Jews then fled.

46. TETIEV. On May 17, 1919, a pogrom by a band. Eight men were killed, all of them members of the Jewish self-defense organization numbering fifty men. On August 23, 24, and 25, 1919, a pogrom by the band of Sokolov. Two hundred persons killed, several hundred wounded. The band numbered about 1,000 men. The whole population was robbed. On September 19-22 a pogrom by the band of Sokolov. Fifteen killed, many wounded, plunderings. On November 4-6 a pogrom by the Denikin forces. Plunderings. Two killed. On December 26 a pogrom by the Denikin forces. Twenty killed, hundreds of wounded, a great number of women violated. Among the Denikin men were Prince Lvov, Goremikin, and others. One hundred stores and many houses were put on fire. The Jewish population was completely ruined.

IN THE PROVINCE OF PODOLIA

4. YANOV. There were 700 Jewish population in the town. In July, 1919, a pogrom was made by the band of Sheppel. Three hundred persons were killed. Another 300 persons who had been locked up in the synagogue doomed to die were accidentally saved thanks to a Soviet aeroplane which appeared over the town.

25. PROSSKUROV. In February, 1919, a pogrom by the "Haydamacks" (Petlura troops) after the suppression of a bolshevik uprising. There were 6,000 killed and 2,000 wounded. A great number of women raped. The city suffered three more terrible pogroms with many victims. Among those killed during the pogrom was a Russian clergyman who tried to save a Jewish boy.

27. FELSHTYN. There were 1,900 Jews in the town. During the pogrom, by the Petlura men in February, 1919, 600 persons were killed, seventy-five wounded, many women raped. Most of the killed women were previously violated. Some women contracted venereal diseases. Among those who participated in the pogrom was the chief of the local militia and his 80-year-old father who "finished" the wounded Jews with a heavy board. At a given signal the Haydamacks stopped the killings and before leaving they poured kerosene on five of the best Jewish houses and set them on fire.

IN THE PROVINCE OF ODESSA

1. BALTA. February, 1919. A pogrom by the Petlura troops. One hundred and twenty killed. A great number of women violated. Of those violated many have contracted venereal diseases.

3. KRIVOYE OZERO. Two pogroms during 1919. The first by the Denikin forces. The second by the band of Kozakov. After most inhuman tortures 300 persons were killed. A great number of women violated.

IN THE PROVINCE OF KHERSON

2. NOVO-MIRGOROD. The population was 12,000 with 1,500 Jews. On May 17, 1919, a cruel pogrom by the bands of Grigoryev occurred. The pogrom was accompanied by murder and plunder. The murder was deliberately prepared, for on the day before the bandits prepared graves for the future victims in the Jewish cemetery. They even prepared chalk for disinfection. More than 100 persons were killed. The pastor of the local Russian church besought the bandits to stop the killings. The other Jews were saved, thanks to the Volost Executive Committee (the local peasant soviet) which pretended to arrest 1,300 Jews. They were fed and kept in prison for three days during the stay of the bandits. All the houses were robbed.

3. ELISAVETGRAD. The city suffered pogroms by the Petlura, Grigoryev, and Denikin forces. About 2,000 persons were killed during the Grigoryev pogrom. A great many violated women.

IN THE PROVINCE OF KREMENCHUG

1. CHERKASSY. On May 16, 1919, a pogrom by the bands of Grigoryev. Six hundred and seventeen killed; twenty-five missing. Over a hundred wounded. All the stores and about 2,500 homes plundered. The age of the killed ranges from 18 to 55 years. On August 17, 1919, a pogrom by the Denikin troops. One hundred and twenty-nine killed. Two hundred and twelve wounded. Registered violations of women eighty-seven. (According to information of physicians the number of women violated was 400.) Over two thousand families numbering about 10,000 persons were robbed. In December, 1919, a pogrom by the Denikin troops. One hundred and twelve killed. Eighty stores and houses were set on fire. More than 5,000 Jews left Cherkassy, but recently they have begun to return.

IN THE PROVINCE OF POLTAVA

15. PEREYASLAV. A city of 25,000 population; about 9,000 Jews. On July 28, 1919, a pogrom by the bands of Zelony. Three hundred killed. The plunder, murder, and violations did not stop for four days. Local peasants and townspeople from the suburbs participated in the pogrom. . . . On August 20 a pogrom by the band of Lopatin. This band completed the work of Zelony. . . . After Lopatin the city was visited by the bands of Shkuro (detachments of Denikin's army). They plundered and attacked women during the five days of their stay in the city. In September the Zelony bands again entered the city and perpetrated a massacre during which 400 Jews were killed.

IN THE PROVINCE OF EKATERINOSLAV

EKATERINOSLAV. In January, 1919, a pogrom by the bands of Makhno. Eighty-two killed. In May and June, 1919, a pogrom by the Grigoryev bands. Seventy-six killed. During July and August a pogrom by the Denikin troops. A month and a half of continuous murder, violations, plunder, and burnings. Sixty-seven killed. . . .

IN THE PROVINCE OF ALEXANDROVSK

9. TRUDOLUBOVKA. In December, 1918, a pogrom by the band "Black Raven." One hundred and sixty-three killed. All of them burned after being deprived of all their clothing.

The report from which these excerpts are taken was the result of preliminary investigation of 114 localities in the province of Kiev, 86 in the province of Podolia, 76 in the province of Volhynia, 31 in the province of Chernigov, 9 in the province of Odessa, 19 in the province of Kherson, 25 in the province of Kremenchug, 13 in the province of Alexandrovsk, 11 in the province of Ekaterinoslav, 9 in the province of Donetz, 7 in the province of Kharkov, 30 in the province of Poltava—in all 430 localities in the Ukraine. In 175 of these localities the reported number of killed is over 30,000. The full number of killed and wounded in the other localities has not been ascertained and is not reported.

Some idea of the dimensions of the disaster may be formed from the figures showing the number of refugee pogrom sufferers congested in some of the cities of the Ukraine. According to the report of the Kiev Commission of the Jewish Public Committee of April, 1921, there are 40,000 refugees in Kiev, 20,000 in Uman, 24,000 in Berdichev, 20,000 in Mohilev-Podolsk, 10,000 in Belaya Tzerkov, 10,000 in Bohuslav, 10,000 in Ilintzi, etc. The Odessa Commission registered 17,000 refugees in Odessa, which is only a small part of the real number, since many refugees shun the registration; 15,000 on the Rumanian boundary; 5,500 in Pervomaysk; 4,000 in Ananyev, etc. Thousands of refugees are concentrated in Kharkov, Ekaterinoslav, Kremenchug, Poltava, Cherkassy, Smela, and in numerous smaller places.

The report of the Kiev Commission cites also the appalling

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

One of the diagrams prepared by the Jewish Public Committee in Moscow, entitled Who Made the Pogroms? A graphic account of 694 pogroms in the Ukraine, 38 of them by the Poles, 54 by the regular troops of Petlura, 93 by the Denikin troops, and 509 by various bands, most of them connected with the Petlura forces.

fate of the city of Fastov. This city had 12,000 Jewish population. In the Denikin pogrom of September, 1919, 1,800 were killed, and during the following year 8,000 more have died of wounds and perished of epidemics. The present Jewish population of this city is 3,000, of whom 2,000 are refugees from other pogromed towns. Only 1,000 of the native population survived.

Pogroms in White Ruthenia and the Province of Homel

The pogroms in White Ruthenia and the province of Homel occurred in the latter part of 1920 and during the spring of 1921. These pogroms were the work of the Poles, the Balakhovich troops, and different bands. The "list of localities in White Ruthenia where pogroms and bandit raids have occurred," compiled in the Moscow office of the Jewish Public Committee and by the Jewish Department of the Commissariat of National Minorities, contains ninety-four localities. In sixty-nine of these 1,094 Jews were killed, beside many persons wounded and women raped. According to the report of the Minsk Commission of the Jewish Public Committee of May 25, 1921, there are 115,000 persons in six districts of the province of Minsk who suffered from pogroms perpetrated by the Poles, the Balakhovich and Savinkov troops, and various bands. In eleven districts of the province of Homel there are 60,000 Jews who suffered from pogroms and are in dire need of help. (Report of the Homel province commission for the relief of the victims of the counter-revolution, of March 12, 1920.) The following documents give some details of the pogroms in these provinces:

In the District of Mozir
(By the Balakhovich troops)

1. Mozir. Jewish population of 11,000. The whole Jewish population has been ruined. . . . Thirty-two men killed, over 300 women violated, among them girls 12 to 15 years of age, and pregnant women.
2. Ptich. Jewish population of 200. All have been robbed, all tools taken away. Several women violated.
3. Zhitkovitzi. There were 600 Jewish population. Four hundred have been robbed. Four killed. Seven women violated.
4. Tourov. Jewish population of 4,000. Everybody was robbed. Seventy-one Jews were killed. . . . Part of them by the Balakhovich men, and the rest by the Poles. One hundred women violated.
5. Petrikov. Jewish population of 2,200. All robbed. Many houses burned. Forty-five killed. About 100 women violated. Of them 10 contracted venereal diseases.
6. Kopatkevichi. Jewish population of 1,600. Most of them robbed. In the surrounding villages forty-five were killed, fifteen women violated.
7. Skrigalov. Jewish population of 800. All robbed. Many houses burned. One hundred and twenty cows and all tools taken away by the bandits. Sixteen persons killed.
8. Lelchipi. Population of 300. All robbed.
9. Mikashevichi. Population of 200. All robbed.
10. Villages Bibiatki and Gorodiatichi. About 100 Jewish population. All killed.
11. Colony Redko. Thirty Jewish farms. All buildings destroyed. The whole property, inventory, cattle, and products taken away. Three killed.
12. Colony Cheremishli. Eight Jewish farms. All destroyed. Two persons killed.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Causes of the Pogroms

THE investigations show that the initial cause of the pogroms was the unscrupulous anti-Jewish agitation which has been conducted by the counter-revolutionary leaders among the soldiers of the invading armies of Petlura, Denikin, Balakhovich, and the Poles, and among the bands. War against the Soviet Government would not have sufficient appeal to raise great forces for the counter-revolutionary cause. Most of the bandits, peasant insurgents, and soldiers of the invading armies maintained that they were fighting not against the soviet system of government, but against the Jews and Communists who used the soviets for the sake of oppressing the peasant population by means of the "false commune." They were also incited by the prospect of robbing the Jewish population, especially in the case of many detachments of the Denikin armies. A vivid example of the demagogic means employed by the anti-soviet leaders is furnished in the following proclamation circulated by the band of Zagorodny:

COMRADES OF THE "RED COSSACKS":

Just think of it. Haven't you been the first rebels against the government of the Hetman? Haven't you shed your blood against him and for a better fate and life for the Ukrainian toiling people? But where are these things? We have been fighting for our rights, but the non-toiling elements have sat upon our necks and upon that of our fathers and have oppressed us. Comrades, can't we in our own house lead the best life of the toiling people? What then are we waiting for? Why then should we not get rid of these Jews, why not take into our hands these rights so precious to the toiling people?

Comrades, we have fought against the Hetman; we have seen the injustice of the Directory (Petlura's Government); we have been and are still fighting against General Denikin and the officers of the Black Hundreds. But when we see injustice on the part of Communists—Jews and others like them—we ought to say: "Get out of our home, for you have done us injustice. So let's get rid, comrades, of these non-toiling elements, of these Jews and other Communists."

Long live the power of the eldest in the provinces and in the centers!

Long live the independent Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic!

Long live the soviets of the toiling peasants and workers!

Death to General Denikin!

Down with the false commune!

Council of the Insurgent troops of the Left Shore Ukraine.

Ataman of the troops, LOPATKIN

Chief of Staff, ZAGORODNY

The Struggle Against the Pogroms and the Bandit Movement

DURING the period of civil war there were no means of preventing the pogroms. Whenever a locality was invaded by counter-revolutionary troops or bands the Jewish population was at the mercy of the soldiery and bandits. Only when the civil war was terminated and only scattered bands were left for the victorious Red Army to deal with, were means adopted to create conditions that would prevent the repetition of pogroms. Besides the general measures adopted by the state for the protection of the peaceful Jewish population, the Jews themselves organized self-defense detachments in many localities, where they still exist and wage an effective struggle against the remaining bands. The following documents deal with the struggle against the bandit movement and with the Jewish self-defense organizations.

THE COMMUNIST POSITION

(Extract from the record of the session of the Homel Provincial Committee of the Communist Party, March 9, 1921.)

DISCUSSED: The bandit movement.

DECIDED: For the struggle against the bands (1) to create strong military detachments under the influence of Communist forces; (2) to conduct a vigorous propaganda campaign against the bandit movement among the peasant population; (3) to demand of the corresponding authorities to furnish weapons for the arming of Communist groups and trade unions; (4) to arm the local Communist groups, members of the trade unions, and the local authorities; (5) to have the Jewish section of the Communist Party and the provincial branch of the Commissariat of National Minorities prepare a report on the relief for the pogrom sufferers and the measures of developing productive work among the Jewish population.

RESOLUTION ON THE BANDIT MOVEMENT

(Adopted by the non-partisan peasant conference in the Volost of Ossovetz, District of Bobruysk, Province of Minsk.)

We, the representatives of the villages of the Ossovetz Volost, solemnly promise that from the day of this resolution we shall attack all the counter-revolutionary bands and fight against them without mercy. We are aware that this element is obstructing the work of the Workers' and Peasants' Government at a time when the workers and peasants are struggling for the possibility of peaceful toil, and we declare war against the enemies of the toiling people. Death to the counter-revolution! Death to the bandits!

ON SELF-DEFENSE

(A letter to the Jewish Department of the People's Commissariat of National Minorities at Moscow from its "representative on information from the Right-Shore Ukraine.")

Kiev, April 9, 1921

COMRADES: . . . During the first part of March a conference was held at Bohuslav of representatives of self-defense organizations in ten localities in the province of Kiev: Bohuslav, Shpola, Tarashcha, Steblev, Smela, Ekaterinopol, Kanev, Zlatopol, and two more localities, names unknown.

The conference adopted a series of resolutions, some of a general character and some dealing with questions of organization. Bylaws for the self-defense organizations were adopted, their aims and forms of organization were defined, and a central committee of the self-defense organizations of the province of Kiev was elected. . . . One of the resolutions points out that the aim of the self-defense organizations is to fight the bandits attacking the given locality or its vicinity; that the self-defense organization is neutral; that the leading organs of self-defense make it a point to impress upon the Jewish masses the idea of the neutral character of the self-defense organizations; that, as far as possible, the self-defense organizations should strive not to participate in any detachments and expeditions which are not directly related to the cause of the protection of the Jewish population against the bands; that whenever a necessity arises to send out delegations the Jewish self-defense organizations should see to it that the delegations are made up of representatives of the non-Jewish population as well.

TO THE UKRAINIAN SOVIET GOVERNMENT

(A memorandum from the representatives of the self-defense organizations in the province of Kiev: of Tarashcha, Bohuslav, Kanev, Olshany, Rakitno, Steblev, Shenderovka, and Shpola.)

As far back as 1919, after the first bloody Jewish pogroms occurred, detachments for self-defense began to spring up in many localities in the Ukraine. Their aim was to protect the Jewish population against brutal bandit raids. At first these detachments, made up of the Jewish toiling elements, existed semi-legally. But they were soon recognized by the soviet and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

party organs as organizations guaranteeing the possibility of peaceful and productive work. . . . The further development of these organizations was hindered by the fact that their legal standing was not defined. On February 24 this question was discussed at the plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and by the Special Committee for the Struggle Against the Bandit Movement. On March 2 the associate commander-in-chief, directed by the decision of the Central and Special Committees, ordered the self-defense organizations incorporated in the territorial divisions. On April 6 the Special Committee proposed to speed up the incorporation of the self-defense units into the territorial division, and to furnish them with arms at once. All these actions gave the self-defense organizations a firm legal standing. They developed their activities and gave further proof of their fighting ability and their ability to face the problems before them.

The bandit movement, which had been curbed for a time, has lately begun to show signs of developing into menacing proportions. The movement is manifesting itself in frequent killings of Jews and Soviet workers on the roads and highways. . . . At this moment the importance and significance of the self-defense organizations become even more apparent. . . . The self-defense organizations are not satisfied with the protection of cities against the raids of bandits, but they are sometimes taking the offensive against the latter. . . . Especial note should be made of the feats of the self-defense organization of Bohuslav. The latter had many engagements with bands; it defeated the united forces of Zvetkovsky, Grilo, Khavsiaty, and the "Black Raven," numbering 3,000 bayonets, 900 sabers (cavalry), with 2 cannon and 15 machine-guns, and it drove from the city the bands of Makhno. The Zlatopol self-defense organization carried out an heroic offensive against the bands of Zagorodny and captured numerous trophies. There are also a number of engagements to the credit of the Rakitno and other organizations.

Notwithstanding all this . . . the Kiev Province Council adopted the following resolution: "Record No. 20, May 13, Par. 7. . . . Since the territorial divisions are disbanded the self-defense organizations shall remain only in those localities where it is found necessary by the Province Council. . . ."

Speaking for the whole Jewish population of the localities which we represent we consider it our duty to point out the following possible results of the disbandment of the self-defense organizations: (1) Increased activity on the part of the bands. (2) A new bloody wave of pogroms, more cruel than ever before, and the annihilation of the Jewish population, especially the poorer . . . (3) Destruction of the towns. (4) Destruction of the government machinery and the soviet economic enterprises. (5) Desertion of the towns by the Jewish population. . . . If the self-defense organizations are disbanded not a single Jew will stay in the towns and they will all become congested in the cities, which are already in the grip of crises caused by the problems of feeding, housing, fuel, etc. . . .

Thus there is every reason against disbanding the self-defense organizations, and in order to put a stop to every attempt in this direction it is necessary: (1) To annul the decision of the Kiev Province Council of May 13 as unlawful and in contradiction with the decisions of the central authorities. . . . (2) To give orders permitting the self-defense organizations to exist along the same lines as before. . . . (3) To make the self-defense organizations subject to the control of the Universal Military Training and so give them a legal standing. . . . (4) To declare that the self-defense organizations are there to protect the towns against bandits and that they cannot be called upon to serve as food-levying or punitive detachments or to perform any other administrative functions. . . . We ask that you issue the necessary orders regarding this matter.

June 6, 1921 Representatives (Signatures)

By the president of the Council of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic: "The decision regarding the disarming of the self-defense organizations is annulled."

(Signed) RAKOVSKY

Problems of Reconstruction

(Extracts from the Report of Mr. Z. Mindlin, a representative of the Jewish Public Committee, on "The Situation of the Pogromed Jewish Population of the Ukraine and the Problem of its Reconstruction.")

BEFORE the war the Jewish population in the Ukraine was concentrated mostly in the provinces of Kiev, Volhynia, and Kherson. . . . At the beginning of the revolution the Jewish population of these four provinces was about 2,000,000. During the last years of the civil war and counter-revolutionary drives of Petlura, the Germans, the Poles, Denikin, Wrangel, and different bands, the Jewish population of the Ukraine went through a continuous series of pogroms, which radically changed the economic position of the Jewish population. The force of the pogrom movement was chiefly felt by the Jewish population of the above-named four provinces, which contain about 80 per cent of the Jewish population of the whole Ukraine. A study of the situation of the Jews in these four provinces will therefore furnish a picture of the situation of the Jews in the Ukraine in general. There is complete and detailed information only about the province of Kiev. But as it is known that the situation in the provinces of Podolia, Volhynia, and Kherson is quite similar to that of Kiev, the latter may be considered as typical.

There were over a half million Jews in the province of Kiev before the war. They were concentrated in twelve cities, 112 towns, and numerous villages. According to the census of 1897 the Jewish population in the cities comprised one-third of the Jewish population of the province. . . . The pogrom wave, as is known, affected chiefly the Jewish population of the towns and villages where the pogroms have been repeated many times and where there have been no effective means of fighting them. As a result of the pogroms of the last three years there is a radical change in the distribution of the Jewish population in the province of Kiev. The Jews left all the villages and most of the towns.

According to latest data the Jewish population in the province of Kiev is congested in about 35-40 localities of the city and town types. According to approximate data there are about 300,000 Jews living in these places.* As a result of the pogroms the Jewish population in the province of Kiev has been reduced by 200,000. Tens of thousands have been killed in the pogroms, tens of thousands, especially children, have died during their flight from the massacred places. . . . Thousands have moved into other provinces or in the direction of the boundary. . . . Most of the refugees have lost the able members of their families and have been deprived of their economic bases—their homes, cattle, instruments of work, etc. Most of the refugees are deprived of every means of engaging in the occupation they had in the home places. The refugees are penetrated by a feeling that their present abodes are provisional and therefore there is nothing to stimulate them to construct their homes and settle down to permanent work. Almost all of the refugee population in the province of Kiev is occupied in petty trade. . . . However, it is a temporary occupation and most of the refugees are looking for ways out of their present unstable position. . . .

The best solution of the problem of economic reconstruction for most of the pogrom sufferers would be to return to the villages, towns, and cities where they have lived before. But this would be possible only if every kind of banditry in the Ukraine should be completely stamped out. At present this has not been attained in a degree sufficient to warrant the return of the Jews to their former habitations. Besides, many Jewish village and town communities have been completely wiped out, and in most

* Note. At present there are Jews living in the following places in the province of Kiev: Kiev, Bela-Tzerkov, Skvira, Berdichev, Cherkassy, Smela, Uman, Vassilkov, Fastov, Lipovetz, Zvenigorodka, Shpola, Chernobyl, Radomisl, Ilintzi, Malin, Kanev, Bohuslav, Korsun, Zlatonosh, Kamenka, Talnoye, Tarashcha, Dashev, Rzhischev, Rakitno, Horodishche, Rossovo, Makhnovka, and a few smaller towns.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of them the houses have been destroyed, or carried off for wood. . . .

The report further points out that economically the pogroms affected the Jewish working population most. The economic rehabilitation of the Jewish population in the Ukraine is largely dependent upon the possibility of furnishing the Jewish artisan class with the necessary implements of work. The Soviet Government has been meeting this necessity to some extent, but owing to the general crisis and the limited resources of the Government this assistance is very small. The Jewish population is looking toward America which alone could send enough tools and machinery to develop the ruined Jewish working class. Other phases in the problems of reconstruction are the organization of cartels and cooperatives and the development of technical education among the Jewish population.

The Jewish Public Committee

First aid to the destitute pogrom sufferers was provided by the following Soviet organs: the Commissariat of Social Maintenance, the Commissariat of Public Health, and the Commissariat of Public Education. Later on it became evident that a special organization must be created in order to cope with all the varied and special needs of the pogromed population. For this purpose the Jewish Public Committee was created, which at once set out to build and maintain permanent institutions for the care of children and other destitute persons. The Jewish Public Committee maintains or subsidizes hundreds of educational institutions for children in all parts of the Ukraine, in which tens of thousands of children are being brought up and cared for. In the province of Kiev alone there are, according to the report, 201 educational institutions in which 16,188 children are cared for, besides numerous other institutions, such as free dining-rooms, boarding-schools, homes, institutions for medical aid. In the region of Kharkov 140 educational institutions care for 12,830 children, etc.

Few of the institutions maintained by the Jewish Public Committee in the Ukraine are sufficiently provided with food and necessary materials owing to the general critical situation in Russia. The Jewish Public Committee, therefore, looks to the Jewish population of America and Western Europe for its resources. So far the Jewish Public Committee has received some 450 carloads of food and clothing from America. Of these 56 carloads have been contributed by the Joint Distribution Committee and the rest by the local relief organizations (Landsmannschaften) working through the Jewish Public Committee with the cooperation of the People's Relief Committee.

A general survey of the activities of the committee and the needs of the pogromed population is given in the appeal of the committee which is here reproduced in part:

To the Jewish Organizations and Trade Unions in Europe and America

October, 1921

The Jewish Public Committee for the Relief of the Pogrom Sufferers in Russia has its center in Moscow and branches in all parts of the Soviet Republic, in the regions of Kiev, Minsk, Odessa, Kharkov, etc. During the last two years it has developed, with the help of relatively small contributions from abroad and liberal aid from the Soviet Government, broad and systematic activity in the field of the care of children, medical aid, constructive relief, etc. In this activity we have been and are still concerned, in the first place, with the care of orphans and of children in general. But notwithstanding the broad scale upon which this activity is conducted, notwithstanding the many hundreds of children's institutions which we maintain and subsidize in the different provinces . . . still the needs are not quite met and there remains much to accomplish in the field of providing institutions for the care of children. Thus there are in the province of Kiev alone 20,000 children, literally neglected and in grave danger of perishing if urgent relief is not furnished at once. There are still more children in need of care who are not attracting so much attention because they are not concentrated but are scattered in tens and hundreds in the different places which have suffered pogroms. They also require the immediate attention of the relief organizations. There should also be added the new orphans of the 93 localities in White Ruthenia where pogroms have recently occurred. . . .

The Jewish colonists in the provinces of Ekaterinoslav, Alexandrovsk, and Kherson are also in a tragic situation. The famine has affected thirty-eight Jewish colonies with a population of 100,000. . . . These colonies have cost decades of labor and are of the greatest importance as a factor in the life of the Jewish population. It should be stated that the colonists have manifested a high degree of intelligence and attachment to the soil. Although in constant terror during the last few years and subjected to continuous bloody raids by bandits, Makhno and others, the colonists have not deserted their land and have protected themselves as much as they could. . . . Neither have they neglected their land and all through these years they have kept the fields tilled. But the present famine carries with it the danger that the Jewish colonists will have to desert their land. . . .

Members of the Praesidium: Mandelsberg, Mindlin

Government Support

Immediately after the formation of the Jewish Public Committee its representatives were furnished with the following mandate from the Russian Government:

To the Revolutionary War Council of the Southwestern Front

August 20, 1920

The Revolutionary War Council of the Republic considers it necessary that you give every possible assistance to the Jewish Committee for the Relief of Pogrom Sufferers and its representatives (names given).

Instructions to the military commissariats and revolutionary committees which are under the jurisdiction of the Revolutionary War Council of the Southwestern front should secure, on the one hand, the interests of the front and rear, on the other, the fullest possible accomplishment of the tasks provided by the "Statutes" of the above-named committee.

Associate Chairman of the Revolutionary War Council of the Republic: Skliansky

In some places the local authorities claimed a share of the resources of the Jewish Public Committee for general needs. These attempts have called for action on the part of the central government authorities, such as the following:

Decision of the Small Praesidium of the Ukrainian Central Executive Committee of November 28, 1921.

Discussed	Decided
Par. 2. Repeated cases of local authorities demanding products belonging to the Jewish Public Committee.	Par. 2. To make clear in a circular letter to all provincial executive committees that the use of products destined for the pogrom sufferers and sent from abroad is not permissible.

President of the Ukrainian Central Executive Com.: Petrovsky
Secretary: Yermoshenko

The Feeling of the People

Great stress was laid by the Jewish Public Committee upon "constructive relief," such as the organization of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FIGHTING THE WOLVES

For a Living Wage and Decent Hours of Labor

The wolf of Greed, personified by the cotton manufacturers, and the wolf of Hunger—these are the foes that 8,000 workers are facing today in the Pawtuxet Valley of Rhode Island.

Shall Hunger Drive Them Back to Work for $17 a Week for 54 Hours a Week?

The spirit of solidarity is strong; only hunger can defeat the strikers.

We appeal to all those who believe in an American standard of living and a measure of democracy in industry.

Give to the Relief Fund

AMALGAMATED TEXTILE WORKERS OF AMERICA

RUSSELL PALMER, General Secretary

7 East 15th Street **New York**

Practically immediate relief of pain follows a dose of

Midol

It is equally efficacious for

HEADACHE
TOOTHACHE
NEURALGIA

—and in addition to being absolutely safe to take —it has no undesirable after effects.

In aluminum boxes
2 sizes. At all druggists

General Drug Co.
94 N, Moore Street, New York

The Return to Liberalism

Recent events—the meeting of a Disarmament Conference, English efforts at reconciliation with Ireland, the return to reason in the attitude of most nations towards Germany and Russia—point to the subsiding of the flood of reaction which followed the war.

The Manchester Guardian
WEEKLY

the world's foremost liberal newspaper, gives week by week from the liberal perspective an accurate account of what progressively-minded people throughout the world are doing and thinking.

The news columns of The Manchester Guardian Weekly give facts without fear or favor; its special correspondence from the capitals of Europe and the Orient is always brilliant and always reliable; its editorial comment is frank and unbiased.

The Weekly will be invaluable to every liberal-minded American who desires unbiased information enabling him to form for himself a balanced judgment on progressive movements and ideas throughout the civilized world.

MAIL COUPON BELOW

To GUARDIAN NEWSPAPERS, Inc.,
Dept. N, 220 W. 42nd Street,
New York City, N. Y.

I enclose three dollars for a year's subscription to THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN WEEKLY, to be mailed to me direct from Manchester, England, commencing with the current issue.

Name .....

Address .....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

agrarian communes, cooperatives, etc. The committee has given much attention to the situation in the Jewish colonies in southern Ukraine, a district which has suffered both from pogroms and from the recent drought. The following resolution shows the spirit in which the colonists received the first assistance given them by the committee.

A Resolution

(Adopted at the conference of the representatives of the Jewish colonies of the Novozlatopol and Priyutnaya volosts held November 9, 1921.)

The elemental disaster which has visited the colonies and the raids by bandits so undermined the position of the toiling agrarian people that they became panic-stricken, deserting their homes and fields.

At this critical moment relief was extended to the population by the Jewish Division of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine and by the Ukrainian Jewish Public Committee. They combined their efforts and adopted energetic measures to stop the desertion and sow the fields. . . .

The population of the colonies will never forget that at the disastrous moment when all were ready to flee that they might not witness the tortures and sufferings of their starving women and children, food products and seed were brought to them from the center. Notwithstanding the acute crisis the population has faith in the future, for they not only satisfied their hungry children but managed to sow 1,000 dessiatins.

The colonists express their gratitude to the Jewish Division of the Central Committee and the Ukrainian Jewish Public Committee and they hope that as a result of the combined efforts they will emerge from the present situation into which they have been thrown by elemental disasters and by the bandit movement and will start to live a new glorious life of toil, always remembering with gratitude those who saved the colonies when the latter were on the verge of destruction.

The Fifth Avenue Restaurant

Under the personal management of Theodore Kemm, Proprietor

Fifth Avenue Building

Madison Square, New York City

A Luncheon Resort of the finest in the heart of the business district.

Evening service for group dinners only.

Especially adapted for Dinner-Meetings of Civic, Political, Fraternal and Business Organizations

Reasonable Rates *Seating Capacity 1200*

BEST VALUES

We have carefully prepared a small selected list of stocks presenting real opportunities in

RAILS OILS
RUBBERS INDUSTRIALS

The causes for their present attractive market position reveal a merit in excess of their present selling price.

Send for List NN-94

E. M. FULLER & CO.

Established 1915

Members of the Consolidated Stock Exchange of New York

50 BROAD STREET NEW YORK

Direct Private Wires

Chicago Pittsburgh Boston Cleveland Philadelphia Newark

OXFORD BOOKS

Have you any round-shouldered friends?

That is *the happy name John Moroso has for the books he reads over and over again. "But worn and raggedy as they are I love them a little more each year." Oxford books are books to live with.*

PRINCIPLES OF REVOLUTION
By C. Delisle Burns *Net* $1.75
"This is not an apologia but an exposition of certain historic ideals and their application to the circumstances of our own time."

THE WITCH-CULT IN WESTERN EUROPE
By Margaret Alice Murray $5.65
An intensive study of the religious beliefs, ritual and organization of the mediaeval witch-cults which the author identifies as the ancient pre-Christian religion of Western Europe.

NEW CHAPTERS IN THE HISTORY OF GREEK LITERATURE
Edited by J. U. Powell *and* E. A. Barber $4.75
An account by various classical scholars of the recent discoveries in Greek poetry and prose of the fourth and following centuries B. C.

THE SECOND PERSON SINGULAR AND OTHER ESSAYS
By Alice Meynell $2.70
Miss Meynell, whose writing Meredith speaks of as "lucid in its depth" contributes a new volume of critical studies dealing with the *petits maîtres* in literature for the discriminating reader.

GREEK HERO CULTS AND IDEAS OF IMMORTALITY
By Lewis Richard Farnell $7.20
This new volume continues and supplements Dr. Farnell's great work *Cults of the Greek States.* Readers interested in the culture and religious thought of ancient Greek and students of comparative religion will find this an indispensable work.

THE ENGLISH MADRIGAL COMPOSERS
By Edmund Horace Fellowes $7.20
The first work to deal exclusively with the English Madrigal. As an historical study of English music at a period when it held first place in European music it should interest students and amateur music lovers as well as a large body of singers.

THE WORLD OF TODAY SERIES
Edited by Victor Gollancz *Each volume, net* $1.00
This series provides in concise form discussions of the main problems and events of the modern world. Modern Finance, by Emile Burns; Industrial Ideals, by Victor Gollancz; Foreign Exchange, by T. E. Gregory; and Increased Production by E. Lipson are among the titles so far issued.

EXPRESSION IN SPEECH AND WRITING
By E. A. Greening Lamborn $2.00
An account of experiments made at East Oxford School, of which the author is headmaster, to develop the expressive powers in children. A book for thoughtful parents as well as teachers.

THREE STUDIES IN SHELLEY WITH AN ESSAY ON NATURE IN WORDSWORTH AND MEREDITH
By Archibald T. Strong $4.75
Deals with the thought and symbolism of Shelley's poetry rather than with its formal characteristics. A pleasing volume valuable alike for the light it throws on Shelley and as a study of poetic thought.

No home is a real home without books.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
AMERICAN BRANCH NEW YORK
35 WEST 32ND STREET NEW YORK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED